

Universities to withdraw from NUS

by John O'Leary

Five universities are voting almost simultaneously on proposals to withdraw from the National Union of Students as a result of a campaign said to be backed by the National Association for Freedom.

Isolated moves for disaffiliation from NUS have become commonplace in recent years but an orchestrated campaign poses a new threat. If successful, it would cripple the union's finances.

Two of the universities are in Scotland, where the campaign, known as PROUD (pro disaffiliation), has its roots. Dundee and Heriot Watt will vote next week, and a petition calling for similar moves at Aberdeen University was circulating this week.

The English universities involved are Reading, Nottingham and Kings College, London, where voting has been taking place this week. Speakers from the Scottish backers of PROUD have appeared at meetings to discuss the proposals.

Disaffected Conservative students form the nucleus of the campaign, although it is said to be non-political, and other Tories claim to detect the influence of NAFF. Mr Stuart Bayliss, chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students, said this week that the shared many of the group's concerns that NUS was unrepresentative but those advocating disaffiliation often chose the easy target of the national union when their real quarrel was with their local unions.

Miss Jeanne Freeman, Scottish chairman of NUS, said PROUD was "a bit of a sham" but raised questions about how the group could afford the large quantities of professionally produced literature which had been appearing. Mr Trevor Phillips, the NUS president, said the campaign's arguments that the union was a waste of students' money and achieved nothing were "intrusive and were distracting it from important work."

Mr Todd (above), the president of the Royal Society, is chairing the newly created House of Lords committee on science and technology. The first meeting of the group will be held on February 13 when it will decide on future agendas. The rest of the committee is made up of Lords Aitchison, Ashby, Aylmer, Brown, Greville, Lord of Kilgerran, Lucas of Chilworth, Scholefield, and Sheffield, Lord Bessborough and Graham, Viscount Alcedo, and Baroness Jeger.

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Dismissal rights for part-time lecturers

An important ruling by Lord Denning means that part-time lecturers will now be able to claim redundancy payments of their dismissal.

According to the Court of Appeal judgment, part-time lecturers are entitled to have a "fixed-term contract" which makes them eligible to claim redundancy payments if they are no longer needed. The case concerned a part-time lecturer at Swinburn College of Further Education, Mrs. Sylvia Guy, who taught in the college's department of science and humanities between 1969 and 1977.

New public sector funding scheme comes under scrutiny

by Peter David

A new system of funding for the public sector of higher education, which would end the existing method of pooling costs nationally, is being investigated by the Department of Education and Science and the local authority associations.

The new scheme, based on the recoupment system already used for schools and further education, would mean that the cost of a student's education in one authority's polytechnic or college would be paid for directly by the student's home authority.

Advocates of recoupment claim that the scheme would end the need for national management of polytechnic financing, and bring market forces to bear on inefficient authorities, forcing them to reduce the costs of their higher education. But the scheme, which was considered and rejected in 1977 by the Oakes committee on higher education, has never been popular with the DES. The Oakes report said it would be "inflexible and debilitating".

Its reappearance now, at the insti-

DES outlaws undercutting of overseas students' fee levels

by Ngain Crequer

The Department of Education and Science is to make it illegal for universities and public sector institutions to charge new overseas students less than the Government fees minima.

Confidential discussions have been taking place between the DES and the universities and local authorities, and an announcement dealing with the proposed changes is expected within the next couple of weeks.

What the department wants to do is to ensure that organisations too the Government line on "full cost" overseas fees, by removing their protection from the Race Relations Act of 1976 if their charges are too low.

This week the Association of University Teachers, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, and the National Union of Students roundly attacked the proposed move as a further example of attacks on institutional autonomy.

In November the Government announced that from the next academic year overseas students should be charged the full economic cost of their tuition.

They recommended minimum fees for the universities of £2,000 per annum for arts courses, £3,000 for science and £5,000 for clinical courses such as medicine, dentistry and veterinary science. In the maintained and voluntary institutions they recommended for laboratory and workshop-based courses £3,500 for advanced work and £1,500 for non-advanced, and for classroom-based courses £2,400 for advanced and £1,500 for non-advanced.

Although the 1976 Act made discrimination illegal, it also included powers to protect institutions if they were following government policy. This protection has been given organisations charging higher fees for overseas students and, since

Inner London axe falls lightly

The five inner London polytechnics will escape relatively lightly from the current round of budget cuts. It is recommended that they should be accepted next year, 1980-81, a total of £2,500 will be removed from their budgets, a cut of approximately 2.5 per cent.

A £40m budget for the five was approved at a sub-committee of the

gation of the local authority associations, is an indication of the confusion that has resulted from the abandonment of the Oakes recommendations and the introduction of the temporary cash limits on polytechnic spending.

The Council of Local Education Authorities has called for another investigation of public sector higher education financing and the recoupment scheme is likely to be considered by a new DES group which meets for the first time next week in the presence of local government officers and representatives of the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

A principal aim of the DES group is to devise acceptable ways of comparing the efficiency of different polytechnics and colleges. A report due to be issued to chief education officers this month reveals wide differences in staffing costs in different institutions. The report says that in 1979 only five polytechnics were teaching more than 8.5 students per lecturer in laboratory and workshop based subjects. Another 16 were in the band 7.5 to 8.5, and nine had a student-staff ratio of less than 7.5.

For classroom based subjects, six polytechnics had achieved staffing ratios higher than 8.5, eight fell within the band 9.2 to 10.2 and 16 were still operating staffing ratios below 9.2.

The figures show that most polytechnics have made very slow progress towards the target staffing standards set out by the pooling committee in 1972. It said then that by 1976 classroom-based subjects should have ratios of 9.2 to 10.2, and workshop based subjects 7.5 to 8.5.

A recent report by the Inspector of District Audit expressed concern at the failure of polytechnics to stretch their staffing ratios, and highlighted the case of some lecturers who taught only five hours a week.

The new survey says that the average polytechnic teacher lectures for 13.2 hours a week. The preparation of the staffing report by the pooling committee ran into difficulties at one polytechnic. The district auditor drew the attention of the DES to the fact that at the North East London Polytechnic class registers and staff timetables were not kept, and accurate figures on staff teaching time were therefore not available.

Although the joint education committee representing the authorities maintaining Middlesex Polytechnic has agreed a premature scheme for academic staff in an effort to meet the £1.4m cut facing the institution.

The individual authorities have not yet approved the scheme but must agree it by March 31 for the scheme to have any impact on the 1980-81 budget.

A discussion paper considered by the polytechnic's resources committee warns that despite shedding 50 teaching and 60 non-academic staff, slashing the centre deficit from £122,000 to £50,000, economies still fall £200,000 short of the cut required by the committee, which meets on March 21.

At North West London Polytechnic all the campus unions are meeting next week to discuss the £3m cuts phased over two years. Staff are anxious that savings of this dimension cannot be made without job losses. In 1981-82, while there are to be no redundancies, in 1980-81 about 100 jobs which have fallen vacant in recent months are not being filled. The polytechnic admits there may have to be redundancies in 1981-82.

Kings' Polytechnic, which is to lose 10 per cent of its next financial year of about £1.2m in various ways, says it too will have to make large cuts in staffing and other areas including purchases of books and materials, health and safety improvements and heating.

In addition, students will almost certainly be asked to pay more for meals and accommodation. The staff-student ratio will also suffer. At Huddersfield, where the polytechnic has submitted an estimate of £14.3m, which includes a cut back to £16m, a withdrawal of the 1979-80 budget figure updated for inflation.

Cut 'will not hit standards' claims Poly

by David Jobbins

Academic standards will not be affected by a £1 million-plus cut in Newcastle Polytechnic's 1980-81 budget, the chairman of its governing council said this week.

But it will make it a bit more difficult to get through", Dr Cyril Lipman said.

Savings to be made by cutting back on purchases of equipment and furniture, alterations and maintenance of buildings and £40,000 less spent on courses and visits. Redundancies had not been considered, Dr Lipman said.

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Tuition fees set to rise 35 per cent

Major increases in student fees of between 35 to 25 per cent for all higher education courses will be recommended by the Department of Education and Science in its authority associations for 1980.

The department's recommendations are for an overall 24 per cent increase for courses attracting mandatory awards in the public education sector. But it is expected that university student fees will be at a similar level.

Home postgraduate students will rise from £890 to £1,165 for one time advanced courses. For postgraduate students the fees will be from £1,230 to £1,515 from £940 to £1,165 for advanced courses. Non-advanced courses are to be set at a new level of £645.

The Council of Local Education Authorities Association is recommending that full-time courses attracting mandatory awards rise by 35 per cent at advanced level from £229 to £315 and by 20 per cent for non-advanced from £170 to £215. For postgraduate students this will work out at 20 per cent for advanced and non-advanced courses respectively.

CLEA says that although the increase is mainly due to the authorities' strengthened positions, it is also determined by resolution not to underestimate costs.

The 25 per cent increase in a factor which represents a term increase. There is a 10 per cent increase in fees for overseas students. The minimum recommended fee will be £2,000 a year.

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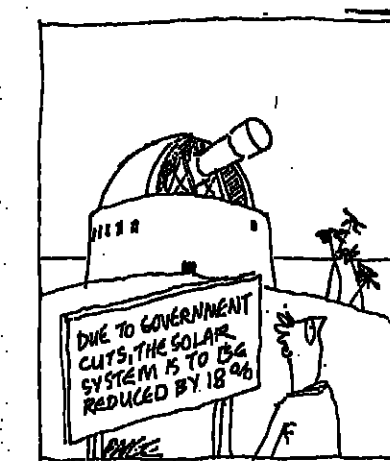
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Canary Islands telescope could be just an empty shell



by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

A confidential report is to be presented to the Science Research Council later this month which will call for a £7m cutback in expenditure on the proposed £16m United Kingdom telescope to be built in the Canary Islands.

It will recommend that nearly all support facilities—including instrument preparation rooms, data analysis quarters, libraries, darkrooms and rest accommodation for staff—be axed, leaving the observatory an empty shell housing the 4.2 metre telescope.

These drastic proposals have been put forward by a special SRC committee in an attempt to save the

project from the effects of Government cutbacks in the science area. By cutting costs to £9m the committee believes it can rescue the telescope despite competition for funds from other astronomy projects such as the proposed instrument to observe millimetre radiation and a new satellite programme.

The new telescope is scheduled for completion by the mid-1980s and was to have been housed in a special building similar to the one constructed for the recently completed Anglo-Australian observatory.

At La Palma the instrument would form an observatory complex with the Isaac Newton telescope now being shipped to the Canary Islands from its former site in Herstmonceux, Sussex.

Now, the SRC committee believes the existing facilities will allow astronomers there to use similar equipment and accommodation at the Isaac Newton telescope, to be sited about 200 yards away. And it stresses that no important ancillary machinery is to be lost.

The proposals may seem drastic but many British astronomers are desperate to ensure the project goes ahead as they believe it will be the most important telescope of its kind in the northern hemisphere.

Indeed its construction was the main impetus for moving the Isaac Newton telescope to the Canary Islands and when built would play a vital role in pinpointing stars, galaxies and other faint objects identified by radio and X-ray astronomers.

LSE unveils courses to boost overseas intake

by Ngain Crequer
and Sandra Hompl

The London School of Economics is to increase its proportion of overseas students as part of a survival plan to withstand the impact of the Government's financial policies. A range of special one-year courses has been planned specifically to attract up to 400 extra overseas students.

The minimum recommended fee will be £2,000 a year. The school's decision is evidence that the Government's policy of reducing overseas students' numbers by charging full-cost fees is in disarray and could prove to be counterproductive. It coincides with the announcement of a £100,000 reduction in the number of overseas students to be accepted by the school.

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demand has on the flow of students to this country.

Because of its relatively high proportion of foreign students, LSE was described by Lord Annan, vice-chancellor of London University, as being "seriously at risk" when the Government announced its new minimum fee recommendations.

The school has 1,150 overseas students at present, and now wishes to increase the proportion from 35 to 40 per cent.

The school's staff will visit the United States this year to "sell" to potential students. Professor Alan Day, pro-director of the school, said: "They will be prepared to accept them, and to accept them on the spot, if possible. We are asking other members of staff to write to their overseas colleagues to tell them what we are doing. We are trying to be entrepreneurial and at the same time, academic. What we are determined not to do is to degrade the standards of the degrees we now have."

He accepted the "bizarre" irony of the LSE policy: "If the aim of the Government is to be internationalist and perceptive then it is completely counter to the whole philosophy of the school which is to be internationalist and perceptive."

The LSE has already agreed new diploma courses in social philosophy, logic and scientific method, sociology, operations research and a new option in social administration. Others expected to follow are world politics and international public policy, and two more in geography.

Professor Day conceded that even with this policy his institution might lose many of its international contacts.

According to Mr Martin Kenyon, the director of the Overseas Students Trust, his research project has the encouragement of Government departments, including those of education and science, trade and the Commonwealth Office.

The organisations commissioned to carry out the research include the Institute of Education at London University, the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Policy Studies Institute.

Mr Kenyon said: "The Trust believes that there are multiple considerations of economic, cultural, humanitarian, political and academic importance which should affect policy-making but that these have not so far been sufficiently explored." It is calling for a cool reappraisal of the whole question based on distorted research and factual information.

The Trust will be considering whether to give evidence to the Select Committee on foreign affairs development, sub-committee, the BEC is to help fund a comparative study of policy and trends in the reception of foreign students in other OECD countries, and companies supporting the OST will help with research on the implications for Britain's overseas trade.

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Pay study runs into problems

The second stage of the public sector lecturers' pay comparability study has run into trouble.

The 13-member judging panel established to "thicken up" data compiled in the first part of the study has failed to reach consensus on where extra jobs should be allocated and the hierarchy which is to be used to form the basis of Professor Hugh Clegg's report later in the spring.

Instead of a substantial injection of new comparisons, agreement has been reached on inclusion of only three or four jobs.

New union representatives on the judging panel have accused management of trying to "sidestep" the exercise by indulging in "concessions" rather than seeking a consensus.

The management side reject accusations of "collusion", and insist that the exercise is to make sure the pay is done properly. But they are concerned at the agenda at its next meeting.

Surprise choice for Rhodesia

Professor Jack Lewis, a Welshman with a wide range of experience in emerging Africa has been appointed principal and vice chairman of the University of Rhodesia.

It had been anticipated that a black academic would be appointed and 70-year-old Professor Lewis is seen as a stop-gap until a suitable black has gained enough experience. His appointment is only for 18 months.

A working party of the university council Mr John Cameron said it had been decided to establish two vice principalships in order to provide continuity when Professor Lewis and vice-principal Professor Bond retire.

A working party is considering a short list of black candidates for these posts and a second vice-principal will be named shortly.

Professor Lewis is an emeritus professor of the University of London, a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and an honorary fellow of the College of Preceptors.

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UMIST principal proposes alternative pruning plan

by Ngalo Crequer
A seven point plan, including a quota system for overseas students, and a lower retirement age for academic staff are suggestions made by Professor Robert Hasseldine, principal of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology as a means of cutting down university spending.

Professor Hasseldine told a meeting of the court of governors that the Government's proposed method of making economies was "like trying to prune a crocus with a crowbar... an ill thought out cut of 30 per cent would kill (the crocus), especially if the crowbar sliced through the bulb as well as the stem."

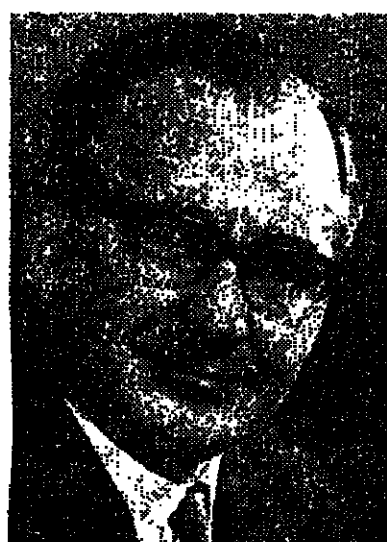
Although UMIST was not trying to dodge its share of the economics there were limits as to how far outside income could be increased and what savings could be made on equipment and materials.

He said that the universities should seek, and the Government provide opportunity for more detailed discussion between them and the University Grants Committee, to reduce expenditure but without crippling or destroying the university system in the process.

He puts forward seven suggestions as a basis for such discussions. First, the introduction of a quota system for overseas students. "The need for overseas students in university worthy of the name is clean—but at what level? I suggest 10 per cent of the student population. The quota system works well in other parts of the world—it can for Britain."

Secondly, an enhanced bursary system for able overseas post-graduates. The scheme already proposed is too small, he says, and numbers could be increased by using funds currently earmarked for overseas aid.

There could be a change in the fee structure to recognize the vital difference between fixed costs and marginal or run on costs. Fixed costs at UMIST amount to 85 per cent of the income, and these costs would in several ways be reduced if we had only half the number of students we now have."



Professor Hasseldine: like trying to prune a crocus with a crowbar

Another suggestion is that the retirement age for university staff could be reduced from 67 to 62. More than 60 per cent of UMIST's academic staff were aged 40 or more, and the number of academic staff in the 40-50 age bracket had dropped by one third. Industry had changed its attitude to retirement and so could the universities.

"The appointment of young academic staff is vital for a healthy university system, and in a near steady state situation new thoughts and new actions are needed," he said.

Three more changes are proposed: the increased pooling and sharing of resources by universities, including rationalization of courses, an improvement in the collaboration between universities and industry, and the establishment of acceptable methods for effective changes in universities and by them in keeping with the speed of changes needed in the rest of the community.

Professor Hasseldine also points to another major problem in the universities, that of outdated, over-

moded or derelict equipment. "We continue to live on borrowed time in this respect; the problem gets larger, not less, and ludicrously the British universities become steadily less able to hold their own on an international basis, and the education and training provided for our young scientists and technologists steadily decreases in quality," he says.

Added to that is the problem of decaying buildings. He says that 25 per cent of UMIST's buildings were built more than 70 years ago and a further 25 per cent is pre-war in style. It all amounted to a shortage of resource for higher education and for scientific and technological education in particular.

My belief is that UMIST, like other universities, has, at all levels, to face up to further cutbacks, the closing down of sections of departments, concentration of some courses within UMIST instead of within other universities, and conversely the loss of other courses which will best be concentrated in other universities.

Professor Hasseldine said that the decision to charge full cost fees to overseas students was a major setback which, given a certain set of circumstances, could prove disastrous for the university. "The Government's recent proposal... has plunged us into an Alice in Wonderland world where old values disappear and incongruous situations appear." The best estimate was that numbers would decrease by at least 30 to 40 per cent.

A loss of 33 per cent of our overseas student numbers over three years could be a financial catastrophe, he said. The Government's proposal to reduce the retirement age for university staff to 62 would mean that UMIST would lose at least 10 per cent of its staff, and such an equation, in human as well as financial terms, of a possible, but the proposed policy.

He said that the Government should see the need to change its current proposals even though it may wait to do this until after October, 1980, when the financial position becomes fact rather than conjecture.

Students fight course closure

by David Jobbins

Students intend to fight the closure of a full-time nursing degree course at Newcastle Polytechnic.

Approval for the BA degree—jointly validated by the General Nursing Council and the Council for National Academic Awards—was given in January 31. No students had been taken on to the course at the beginning of the 1979-80 academic year.

The polytechnic's director, Dr Laing Barden, blamed the national shortage of nurses and the right academic background and experience for the failure after nearly a year of efforts to recruit a course leader.

"Other polytechnics and universities are having similar problems in recruiting leaders for their nursing degrees," he said.

Miss Rosemary Biggs, education officer for the GNC, commented: "They know our terms and have been trying to reach them."

Discussions had been taking place between the GNC and the polytechnic about a number of organizational and staffing problems, but she declined to go into further detail.

Newcastle Polytechnic student union president, Phil Thompson, said they would be bringing pressure on the polytechnic to take steps to get the course re-started.

"If this does not happen there will be no nursing degree course between Edinburgh and Leeds—a catastrophic situation for health care in the north-east. As the price of declining health care provision the retention of such a course is crucial."

Dr Barden said: "The polytechnic is strongly committed to the provision of health and paramedical education for the northern region, but the range of courses offered by the polytechnic will most regrettably not include a full-time degree in nursing for a number of years."

Approval was given for the course for five years in 1973 and extended for one year, depending on some repainting.

In December the GNC wrote to Newcastle indicating that because of the failure to recruit a course leader, approval would be withdrawn—but the existing 56 students would be safeguarded.

The polytechnic failed to recruit despite national advertising and direct approaches to other centres of nursing education, according to Dr Barden.

In 1976 students organized an occupation in an attempt to stop the course being moved from the city centre precinct to Coach Lane, the old Northern Counties College. "We knew that if they moved the course it would eventually close," Mr Thompson said.

Lecturers strike over FE cuts

Lecturers at South Trafford College came out this week in the first of a series of strikes in protest against proposed cuts of £136,000 in the further education budget.

More than 100 staff, members of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, lobbied the meeting of Trafford Council where the cuts which will end virtually all provision of full-time CEE O level courses at both South and North Trafford colleges were being considered. It is also intended to reduce the provision of A level courses and restrict attendance to students living in the Trafford area.

The committee has also recommended a reduction of 20 per cent through early retirement, redundancy and natural wastage. However there are now fairly clear indications that the council intend to make a number of teachers redundant by August, 1980 in breach of their agreement with NATFHE.

Mr Peter Dawson, general secretary of NATFHE, said: "The cuts, in an area with a selective secondary school system, coupled with the scrapping of major discretionary grants for students and the loss of teaching jobs will be a devastating effect on opportunities for young people."

Many of these young people depended on the colleges to provide them with the qualifications and skills necessary to obtain jobs. Education and training were vital components of plans for economic regeneration. These cuts would simply lengthen the queue and further damage prospects of economic recovery.

Advice for teachers of the handicapped

Ways of training for work with mentally handicapped people are set out in a new document published this week by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work.

Training for Work with Mentally Handicapped People shows the range of courses offered by the council's four regional centres, and they can be met by any decent bacteriological laboratory.

Millions of E coli bacteria live in the guts of every human being, but the K 12 strain, which is used for genetic engineering, is a recombinant DNA work, is artificially disabled so that it cannot thrive outside laboratory conditions. Most scientists now believe that the chances of the bacterium acquiring dangerous characteristics in the course of gene

North American News

CUT TAXES



Howard Jarvis (above) puts his latest initiative to the public.

Gene research guidelines relaxed

The government has further relaxed the safety guidelines for recombinant DNA research in the United States. The federal agency responsible for regulating gene splicing experiments, the National Institute of Health, has published new rules that greatly ease the restraints governing an estimated 80 per cent of current work in the field.

The new NIH regulations, which take effect immediately, allow scientists to perform almost any genetic engineering with weakly pathogenic strains of the bacterium E coli, so long as their laboratory meets certain minimum standards. These standards—known as the P1 containment level—are the least stringent of four possible containment levels, and they can be met by any decent bacteriological laboratory.

Millions of E coli bacteria live in the guts of every human being, but the K 12 strain, which is used for genetic engineering, is a recombinant DNA work, is artificially disabled so that it cannot thrive outside laboratory conditions. Most scientists now believe that the chances of the bacterium acquiring dangerous characteristics in the course of gene

splicing experiments and then passing them on to wild E coli are exceedingly small.

Such fears, with the risk of an uncontrollable epidemic, prompted prominent molecular biologists to propose a moratorium on recombinant DNA experiments in 1976, but having learnt more about the technique most of them believe the danger was greatly exaggerated (see THES, December 21).

Under the new regulations, straightforward experiments with E coli K 12 will no longer have to be registered with the NIH but they will still have to register each experiment with their own institution's safety committee. NIH Director Donald Fredrickson rejected a recommendation by his recombinant DNA advisory committee that such experiments should be exempted totally from federal regulations: "That would be moving too fast and would unnecessarily antagonize those who still believe there are significant risks involved."

More stringent safety regulations remain in force for genetic manipulation of bacteria other than E coli K 12, and the cloning of genes that

Taxing time for California

from Clive Cookson
The state of California electorate will have an opportunity to vote itself a 50 per cent reduction in state income taxes, courtesy of Howard Jarvis.

Mr Jarvis, co-author of the new legendary Proposition 13, which cut local property taxes by two thirds in 1978 and deprived local authorities of \$7 billion annual revenues, easily collected 550,000 signatures to put his latest initiative, dubbed Jarvis II, on next June's ballot.

The state higher education system, the biggest and best in the United States, is trembling before Mr Jarvis's latest tax axe, which would cut \$5 billion or 20 per cent from state revenues.

Although the effects of Proposition 13 on public services have so far been mild, particularly in relation to the dire warnings of its opponents during their unsuccessful campaign against it, Jarvis II is expected to have a far more serious impact.

For a start, the \$5 billion state budget surplus which was used to bail out local authorities after Proposition 13 has now disappeared. The loss of revenue if Jarvis II

passes will be translated directly into cuts in public services. Provisional estimates by state officials suggest that education might lose about \$1.7 billion next year.

Only the 106 community colleges, the lowest of the three tiers of public higher education in California, were locally funded and lost income directly because of Proposition 13. Their budgets were cut by about 15 per cent, and they lost 5 per cent of their full-time and 40 per cent of their part-time students last year.

However, the middle tier, the 19 institutions California State University and Colleges, and the highest level, the nine-campus University of California, suffered indirectly because the state shifted funds from them to other state agencies to help bail out the localities.

Last week, the governor, Jerry Brown, ordered the UC and CSUC to prepare new budgets for 1980-81 30 per cent below those already proposed—just in case. The university administrators were outraged not only by the magnitude of the contingency cuts but also by the fact that they were given just a fortnight to come up with them.

Chancellor Dumke told last week's meeting of the CSUC board of trustees that passage of Jarvis II "would signal the abrupt dismantling of many of the higher education opportunities which have benefited millions of Californians while helping create this state's thriving economy."

According to Dr Dumke, the CSUC would have to consider several alternatives to come within the loss of \$150m to \$200m of its \$870m budget including a reduction of student enrolment (currently 230,000) by "many thousands" and the termination of large numbers of courses.

David Saxon, president of the University of California, said closure of one of the nine UC campuses was not an option for his system. Apart from making obvious short-term savings, for example by laying off staff and imposing hiring freezes, UC would have to boost its tuition fees (currently \$750 a year for undergraduates).

Mr Jarvis's opponents, who cried wolf before Proposition 13 will have a hard time persuading the electorate that his latest axe would really damage the state's fine public services.

Cooperative schemes given new budget backing

Two years ago the administration tried to wind up its successful cooperative education programme, which supports the American version of what are known in Britain as sandwich courses. However, Congress refused to stop funding Coop Ed, as it is often called.

Since then administration has had a complete change of heart, and the Education Department budget is requesting \$25m for cooperative education in 1981, \$8m more than the year. The additional money would support 13 large demonstration projects "to develop college-wide commitment to cooperative education," the Education Department says.

The goal is to develop linkages between institutions of higher education and a variety of employers in business, industry and public service in order to create long term commitments and resources for cooperative education.

● The Department of Agriculture wants \$25m to fund competitive

research grants in 1981 (\$19m to study crop productivity and \$6m for human nutrition) compared to \$16m appropriated by a reluctant Congress in 1980.

The Agriculture Department also asked Congress to initiate a five-year programme to renovate and expand laboratories at the historically black land-grant colleges. Federal funding of \$25m would be matched by an equal contribution from the states.

● The Education Department is asking for \$30m for international education (including foreign languages). That is \$10m more than the 1980 appropriation, but it is far less than the huge investment in improving the United States' language skills and international knowledge, which the president's commission on foreign languages and international studies recommended in November. However, the commission's report may have come too late to have much impact on this budget.

Bright students suffer careers service neglect

by Patricia Santinelli

Bright students in colleges of further and higher education are being neglected by the careers service in favour of their less able academic peers, a report issued by the Department of Employment's careers service branch reveals.

The report is the first to survey the activities of the careers service in England since the Employment and Training Act 1973 which created new mandatory duties on local education authorities and a new relationship between local and central government in the financing and administration of the service.

It identifies that the dramatic rise in youth unemployment from 1974 had meant that in several authorities the careers service found it imperative to direct their energies towards these youngsters at the expense of their normal work. As a result inadequate guidance was given to the brighter students who consequently were not applying for jobs which they qualified for.

In addition the poor statistics provided in the RSG between settlements in 1974/75 and 1979/80 for careers service work in further and higher education meant that although the number of vocational placements rose in percentage, there was no direct powers over change. Moreover, it precluded the development of other types of careers work in the colleges.

Speaking about the report, Lord Gower, minister of state at the Department of Employment said: "The sheer concentration for the careers service to have been concerned with those of lower academic attainment rather than the most able. Now it is also doing the job by pointing out that high level jobs are being overlooked."

He added that the careers guidelines being prepared by the careers service branch for the local

authorities would indicate what action needed to be taken in relation to sixth formers, and further and higher education generally. In addition, a series of industry booklets were being directed at schools which would discuss the problem in this very area.

"But you cannot get away from the fact that the main thrust of the careers service is to 'ease young people into employment and this is why this group of youngsters will always take for granted more of their time," Lord Gower said. "High fliers are not involved in the Youth Opportunities Programme, but at least they have been identified as a problem area."

The report shows that vocational guidance, interviews for school leavers in schools and colleges rose by 30 per cent to nearly 1.2 million; guidance to unemployed youngsters went up by over 200 per cent to 374,000 interviews and job placements were maintained at about 200,000 a year. In addition, 236,000 young people were recruited on to YOI by the service.

Replying to questions about the possibility of government intervention, Lord Gower said: "The report that Leicester has submitted to severely reduce its number of careers teachers, Lord Gower said: "As you know we have no direct powers over local authorities, but I do believe the careers service does not need to be cut as cuts imposed on the authorities across the board are quite minimal and certainly not as savage as they would like us to believe."

In terms of the right level of secondment and in-service training for careers teachers, Lord Gower said that his department was cooperating with the Department of Education and Industry, to bring the same kind of concentration to this area as they did on YOI, and establish exactly where the responsibility lay.

Suddaby to retire



Another of the first generation of polytechnic directors is to retire. Dr Arthur Suddaby, principal of the City of London Polytechnic, has announced that he will be retiring in September 1980, aged 65.

Dr Suddaby, who was principal of the City of London Polytechnic from 1974 to 1979, was recruited on to YOI by the service.

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Learning how to learn

Adults without formal academic qualifications who are seeking a second chance can get a taste of university study by attending a new course at Glasgow University.

About 35 students are already halfway through the first "University introduction to study for mature students" course which is being pioneered by the university's department of adult and continuing education.

The new course aims to introduce students to the nature of university study and help them to acquire academic skills in individual subjects by teaching them how to write essays and take notes.

Each student chooses two subjects in humanities and social sciences and studies them two evenings a week during a 26-week year. The level of study is similar to first year undergraduate work in a Scottish university.

Most students on the course will be applying to Glasgow University, and although achievement in it will not automatically entitle them to a mature students' course which is being pioneered by the university's department of adult and continuing education.

Simultaneously, the department is carrying out a study of the motivation and performance of full-time adult students in the Scottish higher study skills in individual subjects by teaching them how to write essays and take notes.

NUPE plans workers' literacy course

Manual workers at London University who have language and literacy problems are to be released for two hours a week to go to classes.

The pilot scheme, which will start in April, anticipates that it will involve about 20 workers. They will be released from their normal work to go to classes for two hours a week to go to classes.

The project is being sponsored by the National Union of Public Employees who have been working in conjunction with the university's manual skills training sub-committee. The university has agreed to look at a pilot scheme which will involve about 20 workers. They will be released from their normal work to go to classes for two hours a week to go to classes.

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Professor resigns after theft outcry

James Allen, the well-known toxicologist, has resigned his professorship at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He was convicted in October of stealing \$892 from his federal research grants to pay for private vacations (see THES, January 18).

Under an arrangement reached with Madison Chancellor Irving Sabin, the institution will take no disciplinary action against Dr Allen, in exchange for his agreeing to leave by June 30. "He will use the time until then to complete ongoing research, make appropriate arrangements for the graduate students, and try to transfer his research to another institution," said a university spokesman.

Major effort to cut dropouts

Only four out of 10 American college freshmen graduate from the same institution within four years, the normal length of full-time undergraduate studies, according to a new policy brief on student retention by the American Council on Education.

Some of the remaining 60 per cent of students transfer to other institutions or eventually complete their studies, but three out of 10 probably never obtain a bachelor's degree, the brief says. Colleges and universities are expected to make a major effort to cut their dropout rates, in order to meet some of the anticipated decline in enrolments.

Stanford stamps out sixties liberalism

All across the United States colleges and universities are overhauling and tightening up their undergraduate curricula. In reaction to what is now seen as the excessive liberalism of the late 1960s and 1970s. The latest institution to fall in with this trend is Stanford University, probably the nation's most prestigious institution after Harvard.

The Stanford faculty senate has voted to impose a new western culture requirement, and to require all students to take at least one course in each of seven other subject areas: literature and the fine arts, philosophical, social and religious thought, human development, behaviour, and language, social processes and institutions, mathematics, natural sciences, technology and applied sciences.

Stanford President Richard Lyman compared current requirements to "a leaky sieve", saying students would have to try hard to avoid fulfilling them.

Faculty panels will be set up to decide which courses meet the new requirements. Only a few hundred courses are expected to be certified for this purpose, A Stanford spokesman said, predicting "substantial



Students will have less time to relax with the new curricula requirements.

faculty efforts to improve present courses, develop new sequences fulfilling more than one requirement, and try new curricular approaches."

The new western culture requirement has been developed by various committees over the past three years. Provost Donald Kennedy told the senate that faculty and students have responded very favourably to pilot programmes introduced this year. More than \$500,000 in gifts has already been raised to finance the change.

studies, said the committee "re-mains concerned about the place of foreign language study in undergraduate education and intends to investigate this problem in depth this spring."

Agitation for stricter academic requirements, including a compulsory western culture programme started in the early 1970s, and a study of education at Stanford led to a dramatic liberalisation of the curriculum, including the abolition of the long-standing compulsory "western civilisation" course and a university-wide language requirement.

similar in intent to Harvard's much publicized "core curriculum" which is being introduced this year. But it is not quite such an ambitious undertaking.

Richard Lyman has announced his resignation as president of Stanford. He will leave in the summer to become president of the New York based Rockefeller Foundation.

Clive Cookson, North American Editor, The Times Higher Education Supplement, is at the National Press Building, Room 541, Washington, DC 20045. Telephone: (202) 638 6765.

Overseas News

Sixth form protests on the increase

from Guy Neave

PARIS
Dissatisfaction is growing over the French Government's newly introduced work experience programme. Over the past few weeks the number of protest demonstrations by sixth formers has spiralled.

Reaction has been particularly pronounced in the Paris region, though the provinces are by no means immune. At the industrial city of Clarmont Ferrand, home of the Michelin tyre factory, in the Massif Central police and several hundred sixth formers clashed.

The work experience programme, introduced last year by Mr Christian Bouffier, Minister for Education, does not only involve the young unemployed. In an attempt to bring schools and industry closer together it has been extended to both sixth formers and teachers. One of the programme's objectives is to give teachers a better understanding of the problems their pupils faced on leaving school. About 1,250 teachers are currently undertaking a six-week industrial placement.

They serve in all capacities from factory worker in the Renault car works on the outskirts of Paris to office secretary. The programme also envisages students spending up to 10 weeks familiarising themselves with the world of work.

Many sixth-formers feel, however, that work experience is an unnecessary interruption of their studies. Furthermore there is the suspicion that many of them are being exploited in menial tasks. According to some students only rarely are they given the opportunity to make use of the skills and knowledge that are already at school and finally many of the placements are scheduled for the summer term precisely at the time when examinations are looming.

Through the work experience scheme, the sixth formers got the ground the demand is growing for its abolition. Sixth-formers as a spokesman pointed out are more interested in getting qualifications than coming to grips with life on the factory floor.

● The National Council for Higher Education and Research has backed the setting up of a national committee to "vet" the qualifications of overseas applicants to French universities.

The role of the new committee is two-fold: it will screen applications and it will distribute them among the 78 universities and 56 University Institutes of Technology.

Rising fees cause anger

from our correspondent

ISRAEL
University students are beginning to protest that tuition fees may be doubled in the coming academic year, which they claim, could result in a sharp drop in student numbers.

They are talking of appealing to the courts over what they say is a breach of contract—an agreement with the government that for five years, until 1982, fees would be linked to the cost of living. They object to a lack of consultation with student representatives.

The irony of the situation is that the major student unions are controlled by religious students who are supporters of the present government. They have solutions of their own—a five-day university week instead of six days—which is the normal working and learning week in Israel—and, saying on maintenance, if the wages, comes to the work, they will strike.

A suggestion has been made that fees be graded according to the socio-economic condition of the student.

There is a counter-proposal that students should pay the real costs of their tuition. Some who favour this proposal say that at a time when the government subsidy to milk, eggs, bread and other basic commodities is rapidly decreasing, there is justification for subsidising tuition fees in the universities.

College strikes launched to prevent law reform debate

from Harry Debellus

MADRID

The Spanish Left launched a nationwide university strike last week in an effort to block parliamentary debate on a proposed law on university reform.

Organisers clearly did their homework, but the lessons they studied had more to do with politics than education. They got the masses marching for reasons some of which a freshman student of logic might reject if it were not for the chance to cut classes. They also picked up some strange bedfellows among certain members of the teaching staff who either fear to lose sinecures or dread the idea of competitive placement.

The surface issue is the proposed "law of university autonomy", which would regulate the organization, functions and administration of institutions of higher learning. Naturally it would change many practices and policies of the past.

Points in the proposed legislation which have provoked most debate are selective admissions criteria, the principle that fees paid by students should tend to cover the real costs of university education, limitation on comparative representation in university administration, the removal of impediments to the establishment of new private universities and the alleged encroachment on

the authority of regional governments.

Underlying issues are the concern of the parties of the left that any amendments they propose might be outvoted by the ruling Center Democratic Union with the help of the right and some regional parties, the fear that new procedures for the selection of assistant professors might limit their political influence in the universities and—the case of certain organizations too small to be represented in parliament—the desire to keep the fires of revolution kindled.

The Minister of research and universities, Sr Luis Gonzalez Seara, accepts the idea that the proposal can be improved, but he insists that discussion in the Parliament should take the place of agitation in the streets. He contends that much of the criticism levelled against the Bill is demagogic, and complains that few students have actually read it.

The aim of tighter admission policies and *numerus clausus* is to stem the influx at Spanish universities and raise educational standards. Opponents say they are afraid that influence rather than ability may become a secret criterion. Although the proposal mentions financial assistance for needy students, the vast majority of students are not in need of such aid, and the proposed increase in tuition fees, which opponents say may dis-

courage some students from starting or continuing university studies.

An unusual clause regarding student representation makes the number of student representatives variable, depending on the election turnout, if fewer than half the potential voters cast their ballots. Opponents say this discriminates against students, since other elements of university life are represented by fixed numbers, regardless of the percentage of people voting. Advocates see it as a way of limiting the influence of highly active political minorities in an apathetic student body.

A new, competitive approach to the granting of teaching posts would presumably correct abuses arising from such practices as that of leaving the selection almost exclusively in the hands of department heads and rectors. Arguments against this point have been muted.

The Left will have won its battle if the Government, bowing to the pressure of demonstrations and disturbances, withdraws the proposal before it can be debated. The Government and the UCI will have won if they can get the Bill through Parliament virtually intact. Spain and its universities will have won if the Bill is debated thoroughly by the elected representatives of the people, then passed in its present form or rejected in favour of a better proposal.

One in four favour form of service

from Martin Feinstein

JOHANNESBURG

One in four English-speaking students would like to see a military form of national service introduced in the South African defence force, according to a survey by the National Union of African Students (NUSAS).

There are at present no "options" for the pacifists or conscientious objectors among the 300,000 white male school-leavers who graduate each year for their compulsory two years of service.

The survey was undertaken by the NUSAS group last year to investigate the implications of national service and for peaceful alternatives. It is based on a sample of 800 students from a range of 100 schools in Cape Town, Natal, Durban, Johannesburg, Rhodes and the Transvaal, corresponding to a demography of each campus.

Thirty-four per cent of their first year of study, 22 per cent in their second, 22 per cent in their third, and 8.6 per cent in their fourth. The rest were posted at various levels. By far the majority—51 per cent—were Christians, 15 per cent Jewish, with a fair sprinkling of other religions.

Only 30 per cent of respondents had already served in the military, the same number as who said the SADEF was providing peaceful alternatives as cooking and clerical. According to 74.2 per cent, alternatives should be provided for 65 per cent.

Of those who said they would choose a non-military option, 31 per cent gave as a reason their opposition to some of South Africa's policies. Another 25.6 per cent said they would rather not be conscripts, 21.7 per cent said they were looking for a soft option, and 25.2 per cent gave "other" reasons.

Perhaps the most alarming reason in reply to a question as to whether respondents knew personally of anyone who had left for Africa to avoid national service, was that they might have remained had been any alternative: 64.4 per cent said they did, 30.1 per cent "no" and 5.5 per cent did not answer.

MICOM has found it is something of a hot potato. Sunday newspaper decided to publish a report on the survey for fear of Pretoria's wrath. The group's campus activities, like the South African Students' and the Conscientious Objectors, just the cracks in Prime Minister Botha's "total strategy" that a wary intelligence is interested in.

'Unrepresentative' NUSAS attacked

Chief Buthe's criticism of the NUSAS group's survey of student opinion on national service has been attacked by the group's leaders. They say the survey is representative of the views of the vast majority of students, and that Buthe's criticism is based on a small, unrepresentative sample.

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It has taken 13 years to reach the logical conclusion of introducing a policy of discrimination between home and overseas students. With hindsight, from the moment that the Labour Government of 1967 decided on differential fees, it was inevitable that a future administration would set levels for overseas students at the full economic cost.

Only a reversal of the original policy could have prevented the inevitable widening of the gap, which has led up to the present proposal to charge fees of up to £5,000 next year. Instead, the original differential whereby overseas students paid £250 to the home students' £70 grew steadily as fees were increased during the 1970s, with the sole exception of 1977-78 when a huge rise for both groups led to a temporary narrowing of the gap.

Even in 1975 there was some support for full cost fees. Sir Brian Towers, as he then was, advocated such a policy in evidence to a Commons select committee on science and technology, and Tony Blair, Dr Keith Hamington and a host of what was to come when he suggested that foreign students' fees should be tripled. "The British taxpayer will demand nothing less", he said. "There is no case for subsidising foreign students at the present rate."

While the parallel policy of imposing quotas on the number of overseas students admissible to the various institutions distracted the attention of some campaigners, fees for those from abroad rose by more than 44 per cent in the last three years, compared with less than 19 per cent for home students. The advent of a Conservative government keen to cut public spending made the next step obvious.

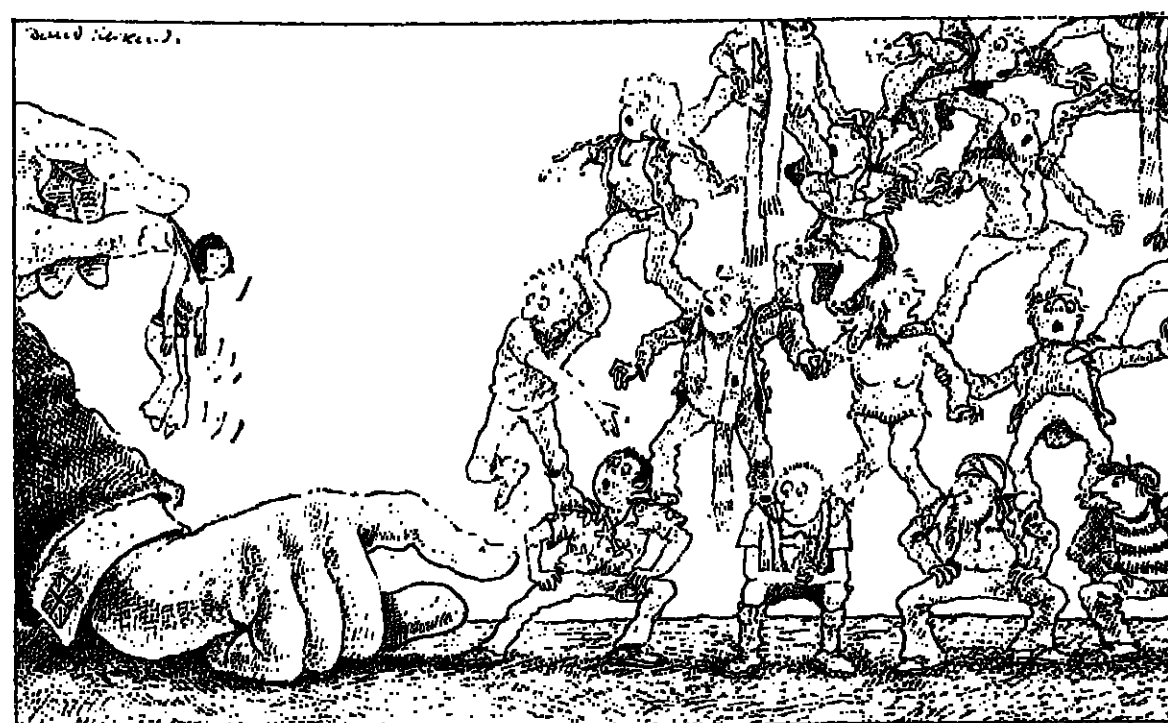
However, the announcement of minimum fees of £2,000 for arts-based courses, £3,000 for science and technology, and £4,000 for agriculture, forestry and veterinary science. In the polytechnics, 43 per cent of engineering and technology students on advanced courses were from overseas.

It is a situation which may leave the government in a dilemma if the expected fall in overseas numbers comes about, since many of the endangered courses will be in subjects it wishes to safeguard. In some smaller institutions, for example, teacher education courses in physics could not survive without the support of foreign students, yet ministers have gone on record as being anxious to boost numbers.

Dr Rhodes Boyson, under-secretary for higher education, has maintained that accurate predictions are not feasible until later in the year, and that the vice-chancellors have been premature in talking of a critical effect on universities. He cites 1976-77, when a 30 per cent fee rise was followed by an 11 per cent increase in foreign student numbers.

The latest UCCA figures would appear to support his argument showing, as they do, a fall of only 12 per cent in applications from abroad. But UCCA itself points out that many of these applications would have been made in ignorance of the new fees, and that the voluntary bodies which have been asked to make a much higher level than normal of withdrawals when financial guarantees have to be provided. In addition, large numbers may take up offers elsewhere when they see that courses in their countries are now cheaper.

Embassy representatives of the sending countries have been charac-



The bitter home truths about overseas students

Figures published by the Overseas Students Trust show that overseas students accounted for more than a third of all postgraduate places in universities during 1977-78, and more than half in engineering, science, agriculture, forestry and veterinary science. In the polytechnics, 43 per cent of engineering and technology students on advanced courses were from overseas.

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Embassy representatives of the sending countries have been charac-

teristically reticent on the subject in public, but many foresee a drastic reduction of students coming to Britain on government scholarships. In a number of cases, students will be allowed to join their planned courses this year but there will be a reappraisal of policy for 1981. Others expect a more immediate effect, especially on privately funded students. One Commonwealth representative has been notified that all but six of an original group of 27 students applying to

BRIEFING

by John O'Leary

join a London University college have now withdrawn.

The real fear of some of those most closely involved with overseas students is that this year's applications may show only a marginal drop, allowing the new policy to be justified and become established, with the real effects only being felt next year. Students from countries which have traditionally sent to Britain might be impossible to attract back subsequently even with a reversal of policy, and an irreversible decline would have set in. Conversely, some politicians are demonstrably limited and all sides accept that the public appeal of the subject is low. Ministers have been able to capitalize on the general view that the majority of overseas students are wealthy. But few of those most closely involved with overseas students doubt that the shock waves will be felt throughout higher education.

Entry requirements could get stiffer

New immigration rules proposed by the Government last year will bring new difficulties for overseas students and confirm their fears about existing practices.

Requirements for entry clearance when arriving to take up courses will become stricter, although it is not to be made mandatory.

Once in the country, the most serious change is that wives of overseas students will no longer be allowed to work to support their husbands. Although an exemption has been granted for those already on courses, pressure to have failed.

There will also be further restrictions on overseas students to attend a succession of short courses, although exceptions will be made where there is considered to be a logical progression, and those sponsored by the private universities, which will not normally be allowed to provide additional studies after their sponsorship ends.

OVERSEAS STUDENTS IN BRITAIN 1977-78

UNIVERSITIES	POLYTECHNICS	INSTITUTIONS
Malaysia	4,728	3,253
India	1,263	1,806
Nigeria	1,466	1,384
Hong Kong	1,465	585
Uganda	2,640	351
Greece	1,742	616
France	184	138
Ireland	384	145
Switzerland	168	145
Senegal	453	757
West Germany	664	99
Iran	1,251	233
Turkey	878	385
All countries	35,888	15,487

OVERSEAS STUDENTS BY INSTITUTION 1977-78

UNIVERSITIES	POLYTECHNICS	INSTITUTIONS
Leeds University	745	817
Oxford University	1,037	466
Birmingham University	682	628
Manchester University	577	613
UNIST	599	445
London School of Economics	265	445
North East London		1,201
City Polytechnic		1,140
Central London Polytechnic	492	644
Aston University	755	345
Imperial College, London		1,109
Middlesex Polytechnic		1,121

British Council statistics of overseas students in Britain 1977-78, including all over 18 studying full-time for at least six months.

The cost which the taxpayer has to pay

by Peter David

The cost of overseas students to the British taxpayer is at the heart of the Government's policy towards them. Official spokesmen have claimed that the British taxpayer subsidises overseas students in British universities and colleges to the tune of £100m a year. But the calculation of the exact size of this subsidy is complex—so much so that a respectable body of opinion believes that the subsidy is actually the other way around and Britain gains over £30m a year from its overseas students.

This argument, set out in a report last September by the London Conference on Overseas Students, is based on the proposition that the cost of each overseas student should be measured as the extra cost incurred by an institution by virtue of the students' presence. Government experts who produced the £100m subsidy figure do not appear to use this approach, thus simply multiplying the number of overseas students in the country by the average unit cost of a student and subtract the fee income from overseas students.

The DES method discounts the argument that the cost of overseas students in a system designed and financed for home students often means that the marginal cost of overseas students on a course is substantially less than the average cost of students throughout the system. The London conference report puts the long-term marginal cost of each overseas student at two-thirds the average unit cost. The gross annual cost of overseas students of £153m (before fees are subtracted) should therefore be reduced to £102m, the report says. Another £20m should be knocked off the total to take into account the role of many overseas postgraduates as unpaid research assistants. Some 40 per cent of overseas postgraduates do full-time research, and after their contribution is taken into account, the overall subsidy figure should be reduced to £82m.

A further very substantial reduction in the size of the subsidy calculation is proposed by the London conference to take into account the trade benefits of training overseas students in the United Kingdom. In support of this argument, the report cites a 1969 Board of Trade survey which disclosed that 76 per cent of firms believed that the training of overseas personnel assisted their exports. A single department of a London University college found that seven overseas students had generated contracts with Britain worth £389,000. The report suggests that these trade benefits could be worth £35m a year, reducing the subsidy figure to £47m.

Even this much reduced estimate of the overseas student subsidy can be whittled down and turned into a gain if an estimated £50m of foreign exchange generated by overseas students is taken into account, the report says. With £29m in income from overseas student fees, the "subsidy" is turned into a benefit of £32m to the Exchequer as a direct consequence of the presence of overseas students.

Researchers are angry about a proposal to close the PRO's search rooms at Chancery Lane

One for the archives—a record row

The suggestion that the Public Record Office is not normally an outlet for vehement sentiments. According to the PRO's deputy keeper Mr Ernest Denham, however, it is currently filled with inscriptions from eminent academics "caving down the wrath of heaven upon us".

The passions are inspired by the proposal to close the search rooms at Chancery Lane by 1982 after which time all researchers will have to go to the PRO's new repository at Kew. The new centre, which opened in 1977, has been described as the finest repository for modern archives in the world. Its facilities include computerized conveyor belts to handle documents and "bicepters" to summon searchers when their records are ready.

At present Kew handles 44 per cent of the PRO's total reader attendance, producing 1,800 documents a day, while Chancery Lane accounts for 26 per cent and produces 450 documents. The remaining 30 per cent comes from the Census records office near Chancery Lane whose fate has not yet been decided.

The documents at Chancery Lane include the Domesday Book; Pipe Rolls from the 12th century onwards; 16th, 17th and 18th century State Papers and Probate records down to 1857.

The present division of records is between modern departmental documents at Kew and medieval, state and legal papers at Chancery Lane. This is not completely clear cut and, for example, while eighteenth-century State Papers are at Chancery Lane, seventeenth-century Admiralty records are at Kew.

The main outcry against the proposals comes because, while as many documents as possible will be transferred permanently to Kew, others will remain at Chancery Lane to be studied, and from the Kew search rooms as required. Searchers say this will mean inconvenience and delay at Kew and will pose great risk of damage to irreplaceable documents in transit.

In a letter to *The Times* seven historians, including Professor T. C. Barker of the London School of

Economics and Professor F. M. L. Thompson of the University of London Institute of Historical Research, claimed that the proposals threatened "the greatest possible disservice to the unity and efficiency of research in our inter-related disciplines and (we) find it inconceivable that they should be implemented".

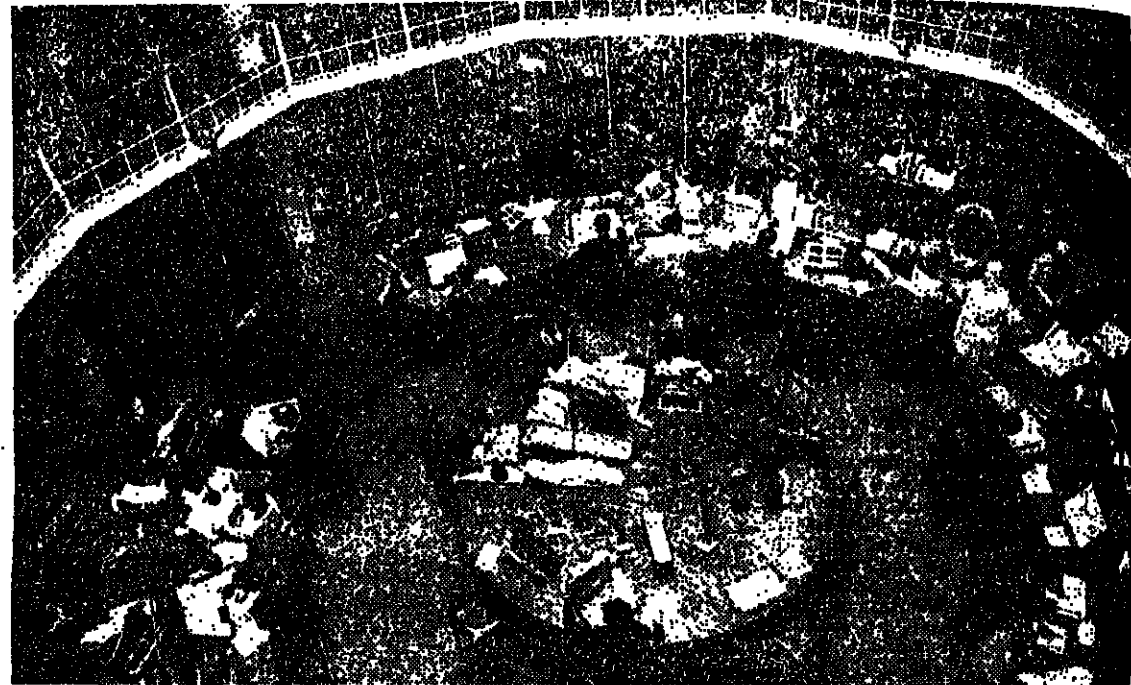
In a subsequent letter Mr Hugh Peskett, a genealogist, states the proposal to "subject fragile records to the serious hazards of a damaging 20-mile round trip in the jolts of London traffic" was "hardly other than disgraceful".

The PRO is making the changes purely and simply in the name of economy. Last year it was asked by the Government to submit plans to cut 10, 15 and 20 per cent from its annual budget of £2m. In December the Government approved the 10 per cent plan and told the Office to implement it as soon as possible. The plan makes the entire 10 per cent saving by closing the Chancery Lane search rooms.

It was a choice between uprooting a few people for a short time or sharing the misery around, said Mr Denham. "We did a survey and discovered that, excluding the commercial side of our operation which photocopies and sells documents, in theory at a profit, we were spending 40 per cent of our budget on the basic activity of safeguarding the records we have got and in monitoring and acquiring those currently being produced which we need."

This activity was felt to be so basic and central to the PRO's function that it could not be touched. Of the remaining 60 per cent of the budget, two-thirds went on running the search rooms and answering queries and the rest on miscellaneous areas including long-term repairs to bring damaged documents into public use.

"The opening of Kew meant a certain amount of duplication of work. We looked at the effect of eliminating this and found we could make most of the savings needed by producing the Chancery Lane records in the Kew search rooms". Details of the operation of the



The Chancery Lane research rooms

new system and exact costings have yet to be worked out. The Office plans to identify the most popular of the Chancery Lane documents and house these at Kew, keeping the numbers of documents to be shuttled to a minimum.

No one yet knows how long it will take to produce a document from Chancery Lane once it has been ordered at Kew but it is likely to be around 24 hours, although some officials are thinking in terms of a twice daily delivery and therefore a same-day service.

The main argument, however, turns on the question of the safety of the documents. Searchers are worried about the dangers from traffic accidents and from continuing handling. "What they forget", says Mr Denham, "is that we have been transporting records for years on 30-mile journeys between Chancery Lane and our repository at Kew, and our repository at Kew is in Hertfordshire."

"The other point is that some of these parchments are extremely robust and much stronger than many modern records, such as, for example, the wartime Foreign Office files, which are virtually worn out."

Mr Denham and his colleagues believe that some of the criticism is an emotional rather than rational grounds. Chancery Lane, while far from satisfactory in practical terms, has a friendly atmosphere and a long tradition and the fury is attributed to these factors.

Attempts are being made formally through the Public Records Advisory Council which represents users' interests and informally to change the plans. Mr Denham and PRO Keeper Mr Alfred Mabbs believe that the proposals are certain to go ahead and say there is not acceptable alternative means of making the savings while still complying with the PRO's statutory duties.

Several of Mr Mabbs' opponents have complained about the abruptness of the decision and the lack of consultation. They fear, for example, that the cost of transporting the documents will eat into much of the anticipated savings but say no figures have been produced and the Office has made no attempt to explain its reasoning.

Indeed the matter does seem to have been handled somewhat clumsily and with little grasp of the principles of sensible customer relations.

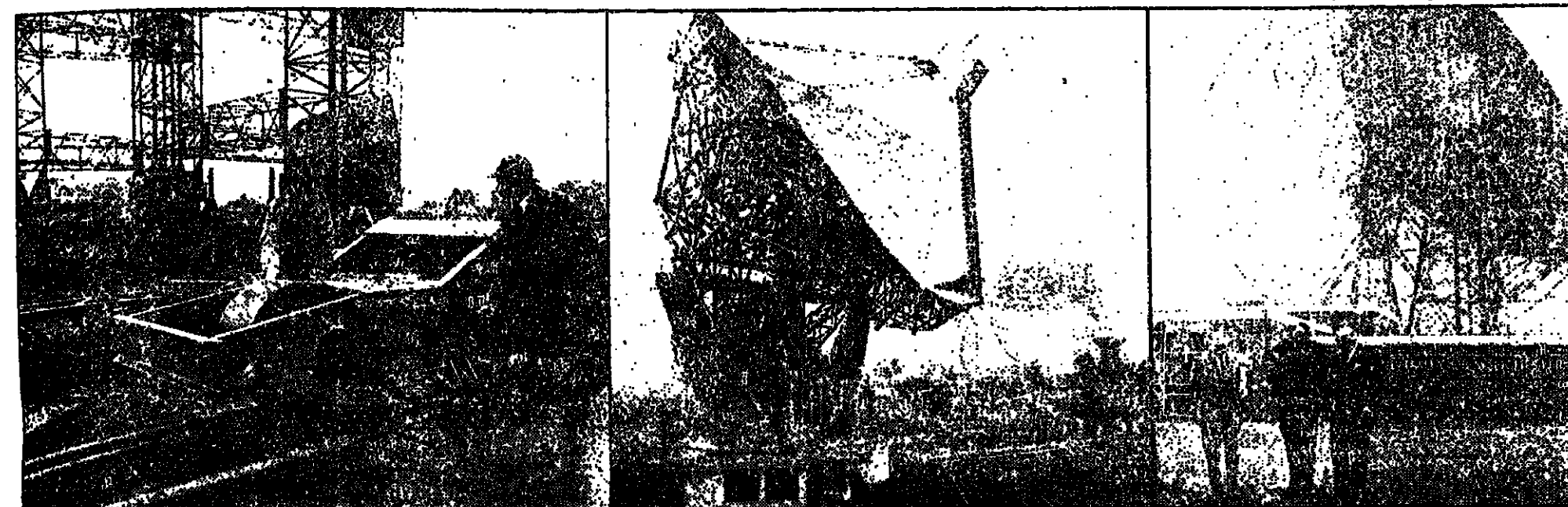
The Advisory Council was not consulted before the decision was taken and the peremptory tone of its announcement on the Chancery Lane notice board seems to have added to the resentment.

"Perhaps we could have done things differently", Mr Denham said, "but I cannot see how. We were told of the Government's decision just before Christmas and we had to explain our plans to our staff as quickly as possible. There was not time for public debate."

"I am not saying that the situation is desirable but the alternatives are worse. There might be a period of general hell while the changes take place but I am convinced we shall soon see the light at the end of the tunnel."

"Many people will find Kew's location and facilities more convenient than going to Central London. We have to think of the next generation of researchers as well as this one. I just wish people would sit down and think about it calmly and give us credit for a little common sense."

Sandra Hemm



Early consultations at Jodrell... the main telescope (background) is complete... and the station is formally opened.

Looking back through the telescope years

Sir Bernard Lovell talks to Science Correspondent Robin McKie about his pioneering work at Jodrell Bank

The giant metallic colub of the new Jodrell Bank radio telescope forms a striking, and fitting, backdrop to any picture of Sir Bernard Lovell. More than any other scientist, his name will be forever linked with the project that was his brainchild—in this case, the massive 250-ft dish that looms over the Cheshire plain, and which still dominates world radio astronomy.

The huge storeable dish was Sir Bernard's project from its inception in 1949 to its completion in 1957. And since those fraught days of cash crises and bureaucratic wrangles, he has supervised 130,000 hours of research there, carried out at an unremitting 24 hours a day.

Of course, Jodrell Bank will always be remembered by the British public for its work as the then leading satellite tracking station in those heady days when the Russian Sputniks were unleashed upon an unsuspecting world. Only Sir Bernard's machine, pioneered through his personal drive, was capable of tracking both satellite and launcher.

It is then all the harder to envisage the telescope operating in him. Yet this will be the year when Sir Bernard, 66, retires as director of Jodrell Bank to make way for Professor Gwiliam Smith, the present director of the Royal Greenwich Observatory.

Sir Bernard, the world's first professor of radioastronomy, will be retiring control of what is now a public institution but which at the time of its construction was one of the most controversial scientific projects undertaken in Britain.

Following his wartime work using radar for blind bombing raids, Sir Bernard suggested that newly developed radio techniques be used to explore our exploration of the universe and proposed the construction of a giant storeable telescope at a cost of about £60,000.

Not surprisingly the Government prevaricated until final costs soared to £870,000. But this "debt of dishonor" (as *The Guardian* termed it) did not end there. Despite a £200,000 contribution from the Nuffield Foundation, the Treasury simply abandoned its still to be paid.

A public appeal then had to be launched. "The Shack of Jodrell Bank—scholarships—send pocket money to save our face"—screamed the *Sunday Dispatch*. This proved to be successful, but £50,000 still remained to be paid.

And in *The Story of Jodrell Bank*, published by the Jodrell Bank public relations committee, Sir Bernard describes the struggle and accident during the time of Government procrastination.

"Just as things were at their bleakest, Lord Nuffield phoned. 'It's that Lovell. You say you want to build a radio telescope? Well, I'll give you £50,000. Is that all? I want to pay it off.'"

It was "a fairytale ending to the years of anxiety the depths of which were probably known to my family", Sir Bernard relates.

The experience of those days have left him with a bitter and jaundiced view of this country's centralized control of science. And this antagonism was all the more unpleasantly reinforced when further prevarication caused the dropping of the new Mark V telescope for the Jodrell Bank complex.

"It could have been built for £4m to begin with but the Science Research Council waited so long that by 1973, the costs had risen to £25m and eventually the project had to be killed off."

"The public accounts committee even congratulated the SRC for its attitude in the end! However, it was not really the council's fault. It must be the Department of Education and Science that takes the blame."

The real problem is not shortage of funds—budgets in effective terms are about 10-20 times greater than they were when work on Jodrell Bank began. It is the conglomeration of bureaucratic bodies, committees, and councils which he believes is throttling science.

"There is a great danger that science is now being channelled into safe areas where we think things can be done", Sir Bernard warned.

"No one is now prepared to take a risk. Jodrell Bank was an act of faith and we must accept that science is still a risk activity nowadays."

"The amount of money you lose by taking a risk such as this is negligible compared with the money you lose in trying to save cash through the work of committees."

Now Sir Bernard believes that the most important project that must be undertaken is the construction of a large optical telescope—such as the projected second Northern Hemisphere Observatory instrument which the SRC is desperately attempting to save in the face of recent government science budget cuts. This could then be used in cooperation with other radio astronomers.

"People forget that a large part of our work has been carried out through close collaboration between optical and radio observatories", he added. "As an example, Sir Bernard quoted the recent discovery at Jodrell Bank of a double quasar—in fact, a single quasar split into two images by an intense gravitational field near by, a phenomenon only previously predicted by relatively feeble observation with optical astronomers."

And even in scientific areas outside his own, Sir Bernard is scathing about government policy in space. "I am a little bit of a rocketeer myself, but I am appalled by it. He is particularly indignant about poor investment in the Ariane rocket project which will give



Europe independence from the United States in putting satellites in space. "The French have provided a great deal of money for this one while we have only a 2 per cent investment. They are going to make a fortune while we get nothing."

It is not that Sir Bernard opposes cooperation in science. Far from it, but it should be carried out only from a position of strength.

"We run a big collaboration programme at Jodrell Bank but we are in a strong position in that work comes to us from the United States, Russia and Europe."

And if that implies a certain nationalistic pride in Sir Bernard's speech about his beloved telescope, you would not be far off the truth. Look at that, he said, pointing to the giant spidery filaments of the Jodrell Bank dish that fill the sky through his office window. "Not a ruddy foreign bolt in it!"

But if the telescope represents a major British monument it was not one that the nation greatly appreciated at the time. There was quite a portion of public opinion that believed the Jodrell Bank dish was a white elephant and only the launching of the Russian Sputniks in 1957 let Sir Bernard demonstrate the capabilities of his machine.

At that time, ground stations could record the "characteristic" "bleep-bleep" of the Sputnik—but no one could detect the actual launchers. "I learnt with incredulity that at least in the free world, not a single radar had succeeded in locating the carrier rocket—and this was the rocket of a Russian intercontinental ballistic missile!" he recalls in *The Story of Jodrell Bank*.

In a few days, previously hostile press comments were transformed

into eulogies of joy when Sir Bernard "tracked the echo" of the launcher of Sputnik 2 as it passed over the Arctic Circle at a distance of 1,500 kilometres.

Although his troubles were by no means over, the worst had passed and thanks to Lord Nuffield and his foundation, Britain got its radio telescope.

"Sputnik saved us completely, there is no doubt about that. My career in science would have ended then and Jodrell Bank would not have existed (had it not been for the launching of the Russian satellites)", he said.

Now his telescope is booked up for several months in advance and Jodrell Bank, which is run as part of Manchester University, takes about 10-20 PhD students a year.

"The quality of students nowadays is marvellous. There has been a sudden change in the past seven to eight years and now we are getting groups of very hard working, brilliant graduates."

This is reflected in student work in astronomy throughout the West. "It seems that the chances of the existence of man on Earth today, or of intelligent life anywhere in the 'universe' are vanishingly small", he writes in the book.

Is this universe as it is because of its importance for the existence of man? Is there a false logic in the argument, or are the basic axioms of our mathematics and physics wrong?

It is fascinating speculation, and certainly reassuring to know that Sir Bernard still retains "open-mindedness in the face of an unrelenting history of opposition to his work. Resolution of the questions he has raised will doubtless be determined by many of the generation of radio-astronomers he has trained throughout his career."

any theories, Sir Bernard's cuttings file is remarkable for his reluctance to commit himself to any theoretical stance unless on firm ground.

Instead he will be remembered as the scientist whose force and vision set up a centre of instrumental excellence which has helped Britain maintain a strong position in the now well-established science of radioastronomy.

Not that he completely eschews theoretical speculation. In his recently published *The Centre of Immensities* (Hutchinson, £5.50), he has chosen to approach the investigation of the universe from an historical perspective.

It is a story which reveals just how fragile have been the conditions for the existence of intelligent life. Had there been only slight variations in certain physical laws after the "cataclysmic Big Bang" which heralded the birth of the universe as we know it, stars could not have formed, there would be little solid matter and definitely no human race.

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And it is in this approach that Sir Bernard differs from other great popular figures of British astronomy—Sir Fred Hoyle. While Sir Fred's career has been peppered with news of his latest resolution

Short answer to unemployment among the young

As unemployment, especially among school-leavers, creeps towards the doomsday figure of two million, the need for watchdogs such as Youthaid to pressure the Government into action increases proportionately.

Last week Clare Short, its new director, appealed to Mr Jim Prior, the Secretary of State for Employment, not to seek further savings in public spending at the expense of the unemployed.

In a long letter he pointed out the dangers in the Government's complacency over the likely rise in unemployment estimated by the Manpower Services Commission—a general increase of 30 per cent and among school-leavers of 55 per cent by 1982. She hoped that the Youth Opportunities Programme would be expanded accordingly.

This week, Youthaid has made its response to the document *A Better Start to Working Life*, produced by the previous government, which recommended a £50m a year training programme for 200,000 school-leavers who go straight into employment without receiving further education or training.

Youthaid, which is now an established national research-based pressure group, is a mere baby, having been created in 1977 at the initiative of several youth organizations increasingly worried about the rising level of youth unemployment. They felt the need for a permanent base from which to bombard the Government, public and media with material on the vast scale of the problem.

Youthaid has already had a vital role in demanding improvements in YOP which led to a healthy debate on the shape of the programme.

Its retiring chairman, Mr Gerry Fowler, now deputy director of Poston Polytechnic, said only last month that the circumstances which led to Youthaid's establishment still existed and were even worse.



Clare Short: hopes for Parliament

Clare Short says that of the six aims the group has had since its inception, that of persuading policymakers to give a high priority to the related problem of youth unemployment education and training, is the one they have come nearest to achieving.

When Youthaid came into existence the case of youth unemployment was not really in debate, and it is in this area which we have had the greatest impact," she said.

"If you think of the very beginning of Youthaid, we YOP, pre the Special Temporary Employment Programme, there was no recognition of the scale of the problem. Now we have these programmes and every time the Secretary of State

for Education speaks he mentions the education and training of 16-19 year olds as a priority."

Since the election Youthaid has had a series of meetings with Ministers to draw their attention to the danger of cuts and to unbending the programme by concentrating on the cheapest element of YOP—Work Experience on Employers' Premises.

In July last year it organized a briefing conference in the House of Commons on the problems of youth unemployment, the purpose and value of YOP and the need for an improvement in education and training. Following the conference Youthaid launched a Parliamentary bulletin directed at MPs which aimed to summarize information on just such problems.

No doubt, Youthaid's independent status—it is a registered charity—helped in persuading the past and the present Government that young people deserved protection and special measures.

Not surprisingly though, one of the aims the group has been unsuccessful with is to get the Government to develop measures for the creation of permanent employment.

"However, in Youthaid's annual report published only a few weeks ago discussing what is to be done about unemployment, Clare Short pointed an accusing finger at short-term solutions and said categorically that no long-term solution to the problem of rising youth unemployment was likely until we re-establish a commitment to full employment as a central objective of economic policy on the lines that Beveridge spelled out in 1944."

Although she supports YOP, she says no one should be under any illusion as to what it offers. Those who participate in it, she claims, should be seen as "passive" and not treat young people who are involved as inadequate who

are unemployed as a result of personal failure.

This kind of statement is an insight into the shift of direction that Youthaid is likely to take under its new director. Clare Short says that when she joined the group a decision was necessary as to whether Youthaid should be a research organization or whether it should rely on outside research and concentrate more on influencing policy matters.

Research played a great part in Youthaid's early life. Currently there are at least four projects being undertaken, one of the most interesting being the contribution that further education can make in areas of long-term unemployment. Findings already indicate that most further education colleges do not try to concern themselves with the young unemployed.

Her priorities for the next year will be firmly policy-oriented. One is aimed at the improvement in the quality of YOP, which is causing great concern because of its heavy concentration on WREP. The second is for a better start and extension of training for 16- to 19 year olds.

On the long-term unemployed, Youthaid is planning a campaign to show the public that these people are victims of our society. They will seek to impress this on backbenchers and press the Government to re-examine the whole issue of cutting back STEP in addition to completely new campaign is planned to pressurize the Government not to cut unemployment benefits.

Both Clare Short's background and work experience are likely to aid this in realizing these ambitions. She joined the Home Office as a policy graduate from Leeds University and established contact and worked for several MPs including the present Minister of State for Scotland, Mark Carlisle, to whom she was private secretary.

Much of her experience made her an ideal director of an organization like Youthaid. During her five years at the Home Office from 1970-75 she worked on prison law, civil law reform, housing and urban deprivation policy. It was the latter two that she was most involved in when she left the Home Office.

In both cases she felt committed beyond a civil servant's brief to bringing improvements to these areas.

The next four years were spent on a series of community projects in Birmingham and Lambeth, as well as teaching, writing and acting as a research assistant to Mr. But she points out that she should not lose sight of the fact that we are in the West as compared to the underdeveloped countries, whose problems of unemployment are just as pressing but where the resources and organizational deal with it are largely non-existent.

"On my visit to Salisbury, Rhodesia, I saw as least 100,000 refugees who could not work but here again no change could be achieved without some major political decision," she said.

Clare Short hopes to bring all her experience to fruition by standing as a Labour candidate, preferably in an inner city at the next General Election.

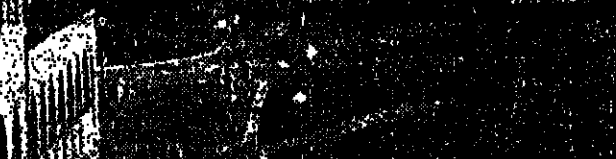
In doing community work you get frustrated by trying to help people but not being able to influence problems, while as a civil servant you see the problems but cannot do anything about them.

"An MP's job at least combines the two. You are able to listen to their problems and as the possibility of campaigning for a change in the policies that affect them."

Patricia Santinelli

the Ivy League . . . and staying there

The day is past when universities like Harvard (above) or Stanford imposed its own special stamp on students.

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The author was formerly a lecturer in Russian studies at the University of St. Andrews.

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BOOKS

Facts and fictions of South Africa

The Broederbond
by Irac Williams and Hans Strydom
Paddington Press, £8.95
ISBN 0 7092 0734 4

Brotherhood of Power: an exposé of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond
by J. H. P. Serfontein
Rex Collings, £7.00
ISBN 0 86036 093 8

Numbia Old and New: traditional and modern leaders in Numboland
by Gerhard Tütemeyer
C. Hurst, £9.50
ISBN 0 903983 84 2

Race and Politics in South Africa
edited by Ian Robertson and Phillip Whitten
Blackwell, £8.75
ISBN 0 87855 137 9

Nadine Gordimer
by Michael Wade
Evan Brothers, £5.50 and £3.75
ISBN 0 237 49978 9 and 49979 7

The South African Novel in English: essays in criticism and society
edited by Kenneth Parker
Macmillan, £12.00
ISBN 0 333 23529 0

by J. E. Spence

In his contribution to "The Political Sociology of South Africa" to the volume of essays edited by Ian Robertson and Phillip Whitten, Kenneth Adam refers to the "islands of liberty" represented by the English-speaking South African press, the Progressive Party, the National Union of Students and the Institute of Race Relations. These, he argues, serve the function of "leading alternatives in the public opinion alive or at least of branding the injustices in the manner of a democracy-conscious enlightenment". This rather clumsy phrase is presumably a reference to the liberal values which inform the political and social roles that these institutions have traditionally played in postwar South Africa. It is these values which come under sharp attack in both Kenneth Parker's volume on the South African novel and Michael Wade's purporting treatment of the writings of Nadine Gordimer.

Yet the two books on the Broederbond are a timely reminder. In Adam's words, not to dismiss too lightly the "islands of liberty" represented by the English-speaking press, Williams and Strydom, two courageous and enterprising journalists offer a detailed and damaging exposure of the secret Afrikaner organization which over six decades has come to dominate the decision-making process at virtually every level of the South African political system.

The parallel with Watergate, while not exact, is none the less appropriate. "Deep throat" in this case was a Broeder, deeply disillusioned with the government policy after Soweto. A series of tendentious which included a "ready-made" local bar, bare floors, bare formal-topped tables and chairs, plans were made to pass over boxes of documents explaining the structure of the Broederbond and the attitudes of its leadership to every major political issue.

J. H. P. Serfontein's shorter account does not differ in any significant way from the Williams-Strydom volume, although it lacks the advantage of historical perspective. He, too, provides a mass of detailed well-documented insights into the daily operations of the organization, named "Broederbond" rather than "Broederbond", like his erstwhile colleagues on the Johannesburg Sunday Times, Serfontein has some considerable risk in investigating the Bond and all those well-exposed to the increased but still impressive reputation of western journalism in the Republic.

Williams and Strydom offer a history of the Broederbond from its early years as a cultural society for Afrikaners, a "counterpart to sportsmen's clubs" which in those days were reserved to the exclusively English speaking.

In 1921 it was transformed into a secret society which over 60 years grew to over 12,000 members divided into some 800 cells (a list of members with their occupations is provided). It is a secret society which may have caused a "deep



Nadine Gordimer and Alan Paton.

of consternation). Despite attacks on the Bond by Smuts and Baring in the 1930s the organization thrived and was instrumental in representing the grip of Afrikaner nationalism on the levers of power in the 1950s and 1960s. The documents quoted at length in the book demonstrate the profound influence of the society on the formation of government policy on sport, religion, education and the central issue of apartheid in the cities and the reserves.

The Bond also has a crucial role as a sounding board for its proposed policy innovation in its role as a highly disciplined organization representing the main body of the party's strategy and covering the broadest possible spectrum of interest groups. The authors emphasize its highly conservative membership and suggest that major reforms are unlikely with such "intimate liaison" and overlapping elites between Government and Bond.

Serfontein concludes that the Bond "ensures that while dissension, debate, disagreement are all possible, they are only so within the strict framework of loyalty to the Nationalist Party. Once an Afrikaner rejects that concept, he is hounded out of the flock of the faithful". This is what happened to Dr Gerhard Tütemeyer, a Stellenbosch academic and a leading critic of government policy in Namibia. His expulsion from the party has not deterred him from publishing a work which focuses on Ovamboland, the most northerly part of Namibia, where for 20 years a conflict has been waged between the "traditionalists" and the "modernizers" among the African elite. The author investigates the composition of both groups, their political and economic aspirations and their opposition to the tribal hierarchy.

This is a thorough, well-documented account based in large part on field research, in the course of which he surveyed the attitudes of both "traditionalists" and "modernizers" in the population and the legislative council established by Pretoria in 1968 and the policy of separate development.

There is an especially illuminating chapter on political parties and the "modernizers" of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in particular. It describes the degree to which it articulates the desires of the "modern" elite and exploits the successes with which the Afrikaners' diplomacy and guerrilla warfare have been able to pressure on Pretoria to "decolonize" its "fifth province". Dr Tütemeyer has provided an indispensable work for those seeking to grasp the complexities of a country likely to present both South Africa and the West with even more intractable problems than those encountered in Rhodesia since UDI.

Essays collections on South Africa are a regular feature of publishers' lists. *Race and Politics in South Africa* is better than most. The difficulty with books of this kind is to devise a framework for the topics

without creating artificial divisions of subject matter and losing the advantage of coherence that can be attained by a single author. In this case, however, the material is divided into four obvious, but none the less helpful categories: first, three background chapters on segregation, sociology and radical resistance; second, five chapters on the institutions of apartheid including those on medicine, education and the churches (topics which are often neglected in favour of the more obvious and dramatic aspects of the apartheid state); third, a series of papers on external issues such as foreign investment and American policy towards the Republic and fourth, three diverse speculations about the future.

There is, in addition, a useful introduction by the editors setting the individual contributions in brief but relevant historical perspective.

In the opening chapter Pierre van den Berghe distinguishes the three levels at which apartheid operates: "micro-segregation" or petty apartheid, an area where we might expect relaxation as this would not threaten white supremacy; "meso-segregation", which refers to the separation of groups into urban areas (this was a Berge regarded as crucial to the maintenance of the system if only because it provides the means of controlling urban African opposition to the Government's success in preventing the Soweto disturbances); and "macro-segregation", the "most problematic of apartheid's guises". He rightly emphasizes how government attempts to persuade the urban African to accept the Bantustan can only lead to increased demands for rights in the areas where they live and work.

Adam emphasizes in his essay the pragmatism of a regime dedicated to maintaining itself in power. He is sceptical about the possibility of apartheid collapsing through economic growth as he is about the likelihood of armed resistance proving successful. His analysis (which obviously appeared in a book published in 1972) rests on the assumption that:

"rapid economic growth and rebuilding upward mobility has mitigated the effects of ethnic discrimination. This does not mean that the material aspirations of the Afrikaners are satisfied, but rather that the average Afrikaner is not sufficiently dissatisfied to involve himself in risky efforts to break down the system... the government is able increasingly to replace coercion with subtle self-policing, self-regulating and self-perpetuating psychological and institutional controls by steadily increasing the numbers of non-whites with a vested interest in the maintenance of the system... the resigned adjustment to the dominating tendency."

Adam may well be right that South African policy is directed at achieving these objectives, but the

question to ask is whether it is succeeding. His arguments for believing that this is the case were advanced before the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique, before the Soweto disturbances of 1976 and before the South African economy encountered real difficulties following its impressive success in the 1960s.

That Adam has not revised this chapter for inclusion in this volume suggests that he does not believe that these events have significantly altered his thesis, and this is curious if only because those young men and women who challenged the might of the apartheid state in the streets of Soweto clearly did not share an attitude of "resigned adjustment".

Adam's neglect of the external dimension is another weakness deserving comment. It could be argued (though not I accept, conclusively) that the forced withdrawal of South African forces from Angola in 1976 encouraged the Soweto militants to confront what had hitherto been perceived as the invulnerable military arm of state power. Moreover, as R. W. Johnson shows in *South Africa: Survival*, mounting unemployment induced by a severe downturn in the economy (in part the result of external economic forces) contributed to the profound dissatisfaction of African youth in the cities and their consequent and vociferous protest. Nor should we ignore the effects of a black governed Zimbabwe on the aspirations of the urban African. As Colin and Margaret Legum point out in an excellent chapter on South Africa in the Contemporary World, the Government is seriously concerned with the southward spread of guerrilla infiltration as one by one the buffer states fall.

The Legums do not discount the effects of external pressures on the Republic, but they differ from Adam in ascribing a much greater role for apartheid as a factor in "radicalizing black attitudes". Whether this radicalism can be transformed into revolutionary struggle is doubtful, according to John Daniel and Randall Stokes, both of whom emphasize the formidable military and technological capabilities available to the white minority. Stokes also draws attention to the economic constraints operating upon Mozambique (and presumably Zimbabwe) in their relations with the Republic and the incentives to act as springboards for guerrilla penetration. Both these chapters repay careful reading if only because each alerts us to the difficulties that still confront the "theoretical" and practical capabilities available to support the Republic. At first sight their conclusions would seem to draw Adams, yet a doubt must remain about the validity of the latter's contention that apartheid will survive so long as it can deliver the social goods of "economic growth and rebuilding upward mobility". But since these words were originally written (in 1972), the system

since Soweto—has patently succeeded in doing and the Legums' analysis is more plausible in view of its emphasis on "radicalization" (rather than "resigned adjustment") and the impact of external developments on the perception of the African majority.

In the final section, Laurence Gauder puts his faith in evolution leading to a gradual transfer of power, while by contrast, Russell Warren Howe rules out any prospect of accommodation between black and white. Edwin Muger unfashionably still believes in the prospect of a solution via separate development, the creation of a "series of independent states" and the dismantling of the "repressive apparatus" of apartheid. This seems even more improbable in view of the Wilkins-Strydom revelation about the inner workings of the Nationalist Party.

It is refreshing to find a voice on South Africa expressing a variety of viewpoints. The chapter, for example, on the arguments for and against foreign investment by Remior Lock demonstrates in part what is true of the book as a whole. The editors have chosen contributors with care, providing an integrated work of scholarship.

Both Kenneth Parker's edited volume on seven major South African novels and Michael Wade's absorbing study of Nadine Gordimer deal with a common theme—the changing degree to which the English novel has reflected and influenced a "racial society". Wade (who contributes two chapters to the Parker collection on Gordimer and Alex La Guma) examines this proposition at length in his study and concludes that Gordimer in her later novels, *A Guest of Honour* in particular, has rejected the dominant liberal tradition of the nineteenth-century English novel reflected in Jane Austen, Dickens, George Eliot, Lawrence and Tolstoy. This tradition assumed that "ever tragic individual events and occurrences, the main tendency of development in human relations is ameliorative". Thus she rejects traditional western liberal values both as a guide to action for individuals caught in the maelstrom of World politics and as a philosophical basis for the craft of fiction in its attempt to cope with a social and political experience profoundly different from that of the West. Wade advances a consistently positive argument to illustrate how Nadine Gordimer has reached this crucial point in her development as a novelist.

Yet despite the evident skill with which Wade proceeds, I would question the validity of his interpretation. It could be argued that, like *A Guest of Honour*, goes to his death in the fall and ultimately self-redemptive knowledge that his commitment to revolution (in place of his earlier belief in "amelioration" and "civilization") is the only route to personal and public salvation. In the context of the discussion between Bray and Dando is perhaps more revealing than Wade thinks. It is far as it suggests that Bray is able to make a commitment to radicalism and hence a relevant and paradoxically life-enhancing response to the dilemma which confront liberals in situations where their values seem increasingly irrelevant as a basis for analysis of self-fulfilling action.

Wade, however, is more concerned with that of Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* in terms of which "no individual character is able to find freedom into possibilities of great fulfillment, let alone any Wade, even a commitment to revolutionary action would presumably be interpreted as an "ameliorative" liberalism which is "irrelevant".

It may be, however, that Gordimer's vision is ultimately more ambiguous than either I or Wade from our different perspectives suggest; that she has yet to reach that intellectual watershed which Wade claims for her. Certainly, it might probably compare her track with this theme with that of V. S. Naipaul in his *A Free State* (in 1972), the system

continued on facing page

BOOKS

Motives and public money

Democracy and Welfare Economics
by Hans van den Doel
Cambridge University Press, £10.00
ISBN 0 521 22568 X and 29535 6

Divisions between the social sciences widen steadily. Few scholars are brave enough to try to span the gap between any two of them. One of the few is Professor van den Doel, who holds a chair of economics at the University of Amsterdam.

His book *Democracy and Welfare Economics* uses the tools of economic analysis to explore the operation of democratic political systems. Economists worry that the effect of consumer demand on the economic system; van den Doel attempts to show how the political system responds to the demands made upon it. The work follows the transatlantic style of Easton, Downs, Buchanan and Tullock, and the meticulous logic of welfare economics provides a stimulating approach to pressure group negotiations, voters' preferences and the influence of bureaucracy.

A major difficulty of economics is that people do not always behave in a rational way that will maximize their utility—so behaviour becomes unpredictable. Similarly in a political context individual behaviour may be irrational. Not everyone wishes to maximize well-being, either personally or for society as a whole. People may have more than one major objective, or their objectives may be conflicting. Sometimes these conflicts are ignored, and sometimes their very existence is denied. Thus an analysis based on an assumption of rational behaviour must fall because the assumption is unrealistic.

This book makes a strong case for the acceptance of a national incomes policy on the ground that it would maximize welfare. The author agrees that there are prior conditions for success. Workers

must trust the government and they must give high priority to the provision of social goods and services that can be provided by the state alone. In sum, this constitutes the "social contract" of the Wilson Cabinet in 1975.

Yet the obstacles to a national incomes policy are far greater. Such a policy eliminates the major function of trade unions, which were originally formed to struggle to improve the lot of their members. Traditionally the struggle has meant a challenge to the profits of employers, but now this concept has been eroded because in the public sector there is no private profit. But if the unions give up the right to fight for their members, as part of a national incomes package, they lose a major part of their *raison d'être*. Closed shop agreements could stop wage of members, but the fire would go out of the movement, and after a while the unions would become part of the apparatus of the state. The fire of radicalism would break out in unofficial organizations.

The assumption of rationality does not permit the argument to be taken as far. If unions were single-minded in a rational way, they would support an incomes policy once they were convinced that it was in the long-term interest of their members. Protective organizations are asked to agree that they no longer provide the best protection for their members in a bargaining position such as a conclusion is unacceptable but very probably true; for unions in a strong position the conclusion is both unacceptable and manifestly untrue.

To an economist, an election provides an opportunity for a voter to exercise a choice to secure the best advantage. If the cost of participation in voting is felt to exceed the benefit, then the rational course is to abstain. When one considers the candidate of the author's own strates, this type of approach is

more difficult to apply. Some candidates have much support to try to gain as much support as possible, just as an entrepreneur adjusts his activities to try to earn maximum profit. Other candidates are concerned with principles; for them the main purpose is not simply to win but to gain support for a policy. The more doctrinaire a politician, the less will he bend to the wind of public opinion and the less likely is he to gain office.

This comforting theory is now open to dispute, as recent experience suggests that voters do not compare party programmes. Instead, they make a judgment on the past record of the government, and if the government is held to have been unsatisfactory, then extremism by the opposition ceases to be a major barrier to victory at the polls. The two-party system is no guarantee of moderation.

The chief concern of *Democracy and Welfare Economics* is the size of the public sector. The author argues that its size depends upon the way decisions are taken. If they are made by negotiation with pressure groups or by a representative assembly, the public sector becomes too small, while if decisions are made by officials or by a majority referendum process, the public sector will be too large. These are stimulating generalizations, and the statement about bureaucracy will command wide support; the other three propositions require more comment than is possible here.

Certainly, the study of political institutions is weak on theory, but all credit to an economist who tries to fill the gap. If his work is less than convincing, it is up to students of politics to show that they can do better.

P. G. Richards

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BOOKS

The world of the common man

Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800
by Bernard Capp
Faber, £15.00
ISBN 0 571 11379 8

It is not likely that readers of *The Times Higher Education Supplement* pay much attention to horoscopes, or admit it if they do. Many, indeed, may deplore the vogue for astrology as a refuge from reason and the harbinger of the new dark age. *Old Moore's Almanac* in its 281st year will sell in excess of 1.5 million copies.

Three hundred years ago educated opinion was different. Astrology was then the leading branch of science, the first attempt by western man to explain the operation of the world around him in systematic rational terms, the first intelligent alternative to either the randomness of divine sovereignty or the numbing of the occult. Indeed, as Bernard Capp writes in *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800*, astrology in seventeenth-century England was very much the handmaid of the newly developing scientific revolution. Where on the continent astrologers belonged by tradition to the courtiers of monarchs and, in any case, were in vogue by 1600, in England they had close associations with, indeed, often were themselves, scientists, and attempted to reform their discipline on modern experimental principles.

There is a sense in which this scientific ambition helped to destroy the respectability of astrology. The more accurate and sensitive became the astronomical data the astrologers welcomed and encouraged, the less credible became the influence of the stars. But to their credit, astrologers were by no means all charlatans (though as with many professions, all needed to be part salesman, part showman), the almanacs which they edited were the principal



Two illustrations from Bernard Capp's book show (left) William Lilly, the celebrated Parliamentary astrologer, and (right) the anatomy of the human body, from Walter Gray's 1589 almanac.

means by which ordinary people came to know and finally to accept the Copernican universe rather than their own senses. Even when astrology ceased to command widespread respect among educated Englishmen, as it had by the eighteenth century, this was not the result of scientific criticism; Isaac Newton, after all, was passionately concerned with prophecy. The decline was rather, an index of the growth of rationalism.

The heyday of the English almanacs was from the collapse of

episcopal censorship in 1640 to the end of the century when perhaps one family in three bought an almanac each year. The guidance they received was not only natural astrology which told them of the effect of the heavenly bodies on the natural world, when to plant and what the humours of the body were, but also judicial astrology which offered predictions, especially of public events and great men.

Almanacs became potent vehicles of political information and political propaganda. Even when Protection and Restoration governments

restored some measure of control, authors were brave enough or clever enough to keep critical views before the public, and the existence of this embryonic mass medium was a major factor in maintaining the political tension so characteristic of the time.

Dr Capp explores all this in compelling, sometimes over-enthusiastic detail and not without some repetition. However this is clearly a work of authority, an authority underlined by a biographical appendix of almanac compilers, almanac dedications and a list of almanacs published to 1700 (the effective end of the period covered). But it will be welcomed also for more than this; for the careful discussion of the business side of almanac production or for the relation of astrology to Christianity, stilling determinism against Calvinist election. Almanacs open up for us the world of popular erudition, what the ordinary man knew of medicine, history, literature and religion. They show how misled historians are by the literary and artistic in the past. If popular religion is to be accurately reflected in the almanacs, then the average seventeenth-century Englishman had only a marginally more informed faith than his twentieth-century counterpart, a belief in a benevolent deity and a concern for his behaviour in relation to dogma. And another parallel may not be too far-fetched. The almanacs taught the intimate relations between man and the universe, microcosm and macrocosm. Scientific materialism might discredit the notion but people clung to it because it appeared to coincide with their own experience. Now, two-and-a-half centuries later, with the wreckage of our scientific hubris around us, we too are discovering "one world" and ecology.

E. W. Ives

Dr Ives is senior lecturer in history at Birmingham University.

Harley's hacks

Robert Harley and the Press: propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe
by J. A. Downie
Cambridge University Press, £12.50
ISBN 0 521 22187 0

When William of Orange landed at Torbay he unleashed a printing press; and shortly after that the London mob devastated the printing-house of James II's chief publisher. These were portents of a epoch inaugurated by the invention of propaganda in its modern political process. The age of Swift and Defoe saw the prodigious output of pamphlets, the first daily newspaper, the invention of the political essay and the emergence of a market-sustained press. The literary fiasco of John Grub Street in churchyard, *Annals*, *Considerations*, and *Vindication*. Two particular circumstances caused this efflorescence: the end of censorship in 1695 and the repeal in 1716, produced general elections at a vertiginous frequency of almost one every two years.

Dr Downie shows that Prime Minister Harley was the first man to take propaganda seriously. His book is sensibly written and contains a wealth of bibliographical material. He charts Harley's engagement of Swift, Defoe, Davenant, Toland, Mary Manley, Arbuthnot, Prior and lesser scribblers beside. In 1701 there was one government newspaper, the *Insipid Gazette*; a decade later there were nine. In 1704 with Defoe's *Review* a national network for distributing pamphlets was forged and a press hired to assemble weekly lists of seditious tracts. The culmination in 1712 was the shaping of public opinion in the peace with France. Harley drafting with Swift the outstandingly successful *Conduct of the Allies*, while, like gregarious Swift's culverin, Defoe beset the public with smaller tracts.

Downie illuminates lesser known episodes too: the paper war of 1701, when the Whig leader Somers showed himself almost Harley's match at flattering electors; the *Memorial of the Church of England*; and the genesis of the Stamp Act of 1712, which put on paper which persisted till 1885.

Tackling the theme of propaganda and public opinion through one man's career has its dangers. Downie is careful not to attribute pamphlets to Harley's agency where the evidence does not permit, or he inclines to overstate Harley's achievement. Harley's nonpartisan, constitutional moderation could put him at odds with high Tory extremists, and Harley's tracts also swam against the stream. His polemical energies were spent not on mauling Whigs but in maintaining the Tory onslaught. In elegant *Faith on Both Sides* he unquestionably influenced but had few adherents and in the *Scavenger's* frenzy the *Charter of Privileges* begins to resemble a man bawling.

Some doubt must also remain about the clarity of Harley's commitment not to reintroduce repression and to rely on counter-propaganda. He made frantic efforts to capture and harness those "responsible" to the cause. Numerous arrests and prosecutions after 1710, and the claim that the Stamp Act was a purely fiscal measure needs more substantiation.

Even without censorship the state could be repressive and intervene where it should not. Others did. We all know Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* but the *Journal of the Plague* is a masterpiece of the political pamphlet.

There are many other new ideas in this book, and students of Irish history should be grateful to Dr Downie for his stimulating and scholarly analysis which will bring new vigour and life to the study of this period in Irish history.

Mary O'Dowd

Mary O'Dowd lectures in Irish history at Queen's University, Belfast.

Oxford University Press

Consensus and Disunity

The Lloyd George Coalition Government 1918-1922
Kenneth O. Morgan

'Kenneth Morgan has written a first-class study of the Lloyd Georgeian experiment of 1918-1922... Dr Morgan's book should serve as a model of how political history should be interpreted. This is indeed political history in its most ambitious and developed form, with technical accomplishment set off by literary skill. At the same time it is controversial... a stylish and powerful challenge to old orthodoxes.' *London Review of Books*, 215

A World History

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Irish administration

The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century
by Brendan Bradshaw
Cambridge University Press, £16.00
ISBN 0 521 22206 0

In the late 1530s a group of young Irish historians pioneered the scientific study of Irish history. Before that time Irish historiography was dominated by writers whose allegiance to the political doctrine of nationalism or unionism prevented them from approaching their source material with any degree of objectivity. The study of early modern Ireland was one of the first areas to benefit from the new professional approach because the research interests of several of the historians who led the pioneering movement, notably R. Dudley Edwards, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn lay in this period.

Although subsequent generations of Irish historians have applied the techniques introduced by these scholars to other periods of Irish history, their initial work on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland has until recently been largely neglected. There are indications that this situation is changing and a growing number of historians are now turning their attention to sixteenth-century Ireland. Prominent among these is Dr Brendan Bradshaw whose first book on the dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland appeared in 1974. In the second book Dr Bradshaw concentrates on political developments, more particularly on the political ideologies which lay behind the administration of Ireland in the three decades between 1520 and 1550.

The immense value of Dr Bradshaw's book lies not only in the fact that it is the first full-scale monograph dealing with this period to appear in print but also in its development and critical examination of the earlier research of scholars like Professors Edwards, Moody and Quinn. It is unlikely that Dr Bradshaw's conclusions will be accepted without criticism, but his book, in providing a scholarly basis for serious historical debate, will undoubtedly play a vital role in Irish historical studies over the next few years.

In a short review it is only possible to point to some of the ways in which Dr Bradshaw's book presents a challenge to students of Irish history. First, Dr Bradshaw is concerned "to provide a conceptual framework for the discussion of the political and constitutional history of early modern Ireland." For this purpose he examines contemporary writers on Ireland and divides them into three main categories: conservatives, radicals and liberals. Other scholars may find that Dr Bradshaw over-emphasises the ideological differences between these writers, but his analysis will, one hopes, fulfil his stated intention and initiate a discussion of the ideologies which were prominent in sixteenth-century Ireland.

In his examination of the administration of Ireland in the 1530s Dr Bradshaw extends the work of his supervisor Professor G. R. Elton to Ireland and argues that Thomas Cromwell's Irish policy was motivated by his desire to establish the principle of unitary sovereignty. In support of this argument Dr Bradshaw provides a new interpretation of the decade which suggests that the Dublin administration was reduced to the status of a regional council with all important matters being decided by the central administration in London.

Dr Bradshaw criticises Cromwell's government with the more liberal administration of the 1540s, when the Irish executive had more direct control over Irish affairs. Here again, he puts forward many new ideas. For instance, he argues that the change in the attitude of Henry VIII from "lord" to "king" of Ireland formed part of the liberal approach rather than, as others have argued, part of an aggressive counter-policy, which the king hoped to pursue.

There are many other new ideas in this book, and students of Irish history should be grateful to Dr Bradshaw for his stimulating and scholarly analysis which will bring new vigour and life to the study of this period in Irish history.

Mary O'Dowd

Mary O'Dowd lectures in Irish history at Queen's University, Belfast.

BOOKS

Realities of unified Italy

Italy, the Least of the Great Powers: Italian foreign policy before the First World War
by R. J. B. Bosworth
Cambridge University Press, £27.50
ISBN 0 521 22366 0

No national unification has ever enjoyed such international popularity as the Italian. They had to be the least of the great powers, the least of the great nations of the world.

Lord Shaftesbury writing in September 1860 told Cavour: 'Your revolution is the most wonderful, the most honourable and the most unexpected manifestation of courage, virtue and self-control the world has ever seen.'

Here at last was the "Third Rome". The land of Dante and Petrarch, of Botticelli and Leonardo, the home of the great Roman and imperial tradition, would now take its rightful place among the great nations of the world.

Reality, as so often, looked rather different. Italy in 1861 enjoyed none of the attributes of a great power: a large population. Seventy-eight per cent of the population of roughly 26 million were illiterate. Less than 1 per cent had had any form of secondary education. Capital investment amounted to just over 1 per cent of national income and in capacity of all steam-powered machinery, Italy came last among important European states, below Spain and Russia. The final and most bitter irony lay in the language question. Italian, as a medium of daily use, was *lingua franca*. Tullio de Mauro estimates that at the most 2.5 per cent of the population could have understood the divine tongue of Dante.

Mr Bosworth's study begins with these realities. Although he himself does not put it quite so schematically, I extract from his work the following four propositions: first, there was an immense gap between the reality of Italy and its pretensions to the status of a great power; second, the Italian government was vulnerable to naval warfare; and third, the incomplete national revolution left important Italian territories (Trieste, the

Freemont, and, although Mr Bosworth fails to mention the Swiss Canton Ticino and the Italian valleys of the Grisons) in foreign hands; third, that "domestic opinion" — and here Mr Bosworth deftly sketches the real dimensions of that opinion and locates it squarely in the tiny groups of persons who took part in "legal" Italy as opposed to "real" Italy — demanded action, greatness, redemption of the *torre irredente*, a fulfilment of the Risorgimento, and God knows what else, and that the Italian state and hence its diplomats could do almost nothing to fulfil such aspirations.

The combination of these four realities made life very difficult for Italian foreign ministers. They had to be seen to be acting forcefully while hoping that everybody in the other European states would realize that nothing very serious was meant. In pique at French expansion into Tunisia, Italy joined Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1881 to form the so-called Triple Alliance. Italian diplomats were reduced to making distinctions between "allies" and "friends" and to manoeuvring in the space between those two categories in their search for the crumbs left over after the great imperial powers had gorged themselves. As that harsh realist of British Foreign Office, Sir Eyre Crowe, put it in May 1914:

'Italy wants us to square the circle without exposing herself to a charge of breach of faith, she wants to remain in the Triple Alliance and yet not go to war with France in accordance with its stipulations. No Anglo-Italian formula can solve this ethical question.'

None did. In the end, Italy withdrew from the Triple Alliance when the First World War broke out and after an undignified period of bargaining for the highest bid, joined the Entente, in May, 1915.

Mr Bosworth begins with a useful discussion of the gap between reality and illusion in Italy's claims to be a great power and yet not go to war with France in accordance with its stipulations. No Anglo-Italian formula can solve this ethical question.

Jonathan Steinberg

Consolidating the Chinese empire

The Cambridge History of China, Volume 6: The Sui and T'ang Dynasties, 581-618
by Denis Twitchett
Cambridge University Press, £35.00
ISBN 0 521 21446 7

This 14-volume project is due to be completed by the mid-1980s. Already we have a volume on the first of the two dynasties, the Han, and a second volume on the Sui and T'ang. The third volume on the T'ang is now in the final stages of preparation. The first of the two volumes on the T'ang, which is the subject of this book, is the most important of the series. It is the political history of this period, the story of reunification, consolidation, collapse, and attempted recovery — which is the major theme of this book. The writers zoom in and pick out from the mass of material the most important events and personalities, and the book is a masterpiece of political analysis.

Most of the time since the founding of the Chinese empire the north of China has been in barbaric hands, and from the building of the Great Wall to the honey-moon of Peking, the north has been the scene of a constant struggle between the Chinese and the barbarians. The T'ang dynasty, however, was the first to unify the north and the south, and to bring the barbarians under the control of the Chinese empire.

The western scholar cannot easily overcome the inadequacy of private sources to set against the biased record of the official historians. Yang-chi, the second and last Sui emperor, showed much political wisdom, but every last emperor was in theory but wicked since

he lost the Mandate of Heaven. The Empress Wu, political skills by lost and cruelty, for the prejudice of Confucian historians was unable to tolerate the ambition of a woman occupying the Dragon Throne. On the other hand, consideration of previous generations' past sources does give the T'ang founder Li Yuan full credit for the achievement, which the official record had claimed for his son and successor.

This volume has more unity than the one on the Ch'ing which has already appeared. An excellent account of the Sui, by the late Arthur Wright is followed by reign by reign accounts of the T'ang up to the great division of the An-Lu-shan rebellion. Then the pattern is broken, and there are two parallel accounts of the next 100 years. Although they help to unravel the complexities of a neglected era, these contributions are, as usual, rather uneven. The difficulties of planning and co-ordinating such a colossal enterprise are formidable, and to Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated for proceeding with this daunting project at such an inauspicious time.

Raymond Dawson

Raymond Dawson is fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

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BOOKS

Bosses of the Victorian city

Power and Authority in the Victorian City
by Derek Fraser
Blackwell, £9.95 and £3.75
ISBN 0 631 10561 1 and 10571 9

Urban Politics in Victorian England: the structure of politics in Victorian cities
by Derek Fraser
Macmillan, £4.50
ISBN 0 333 27885 2

Derek Fraser is a latter-day Sidney and Beatrice Webb; nobody since the authors of *Manchester and its Boroughs* and *Statutory Instruments for Special Purposes* has told us more about nineteenth-century urban politics. His reputation rests firmly on *Urban Politics in Victorian England*, first published in 1976, and now making a welcome reappearance as a Macmillan paperback. Now also the less specialist *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* has appeared, directed at the undergraduate rather than his teacher. This draws in part on the findings of the earlier book, as well as synthesizing the work of other scholars on a wider period. The new book in many ways suffers by comparison with the very high standards Dr Fraser himself has set; it is perhaps a little unfair to read his brief remarks of 1976 and to use his own material of 1976 to ask for more. It is fairer to raise doubts about the structure of the book.

Power and Authority in the Victorian City is the first volume in a new series, "Comparative Studies in Social and Economic History", edited by J. R. Kellow, who justifies the venture on the grounds that parallel case studies provide a middle way between the specialist monograph and the wide-ranging generalization. In other words, it is the approach of Dr Kellow's own *Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*. But the danger is tedious repetition married to superficiality, confusing the student as to what is general and what is unique.

Dr Fraser considers three towns at length and four briefly, with an introductory chapter on municipal reform and a concluding chapter on the transformation of urban government between 1835 and 1900. His analysis is always lucid, and there is no doubt that students will find much of interest; but might they not have found more if a thematic approach had been adopted? The use of case studies means that while some topics are dealt with seven times, others are cast into obscurity. A structure organized by themes such as finance, the franchise, municipal functions, provision and ownership of utilities, external relations with central government and the aristocracy, internal relations between established power bases and pressure groups such as trades councils and ratepayers' associations, might have given students a firmer grasp of the nature of power and authority. Of course, concrete illustrations from specific towns would be valuable, but there would now be some standard by which the unique and the general could be established. As it is, the criteria of selection of the case studies is not altogether clear: the total absence of London is particularly surprising, since it is not mentioned even during the discussion of the County Councils Act of 1888 which created the London County Council. The main impression is of

opportunity missed, for no one is better qualified than Dr Fraser to cast light into the murky recesses of urban politics.

Students can certainly use these two books to grasp the concept of increasing marginal returns: for an extra 75 pence they obtain in *Urban Politics in Victorian England* an extra 134 pages and a contribution of major significance for an understanding of nineteenth-century society. The canvas is less wide, concentrating on the large metropolitan cities in the 1830s and 1850s. But any loss of breadth is richly compensated for by the wealth of detail and depth of analysis. Unlike some bland studies of municipal endeavour, here is the raw detail of political life which makes England none too distant from the time of the industrial revolution. The picture which emerges is of endemic and virulent conflict on all levels of urban political life. This is demonstrated in a conclusive and fascinating manner. But the question must arise of how the battle lines were drawn, of why power was being sought.

Dr Fraser's answer runs counter to much recent, particularly left-wing, writing on early Victorian society. His approach owes more to Pareto than to Marx. Class conflict between bourgeoisie and proletariat is minimized, and the key to political conflict is found in a contest for power within the urban middle class, a contest which in turn owed little to economic divides. What was at issue was a clash between a "prescribed elite" and a "proscribed elite". The

reversal of roles in 1835 did not bring a new class to power, because there was a "change of like for like as outsiders became insiders". The endemic political conflict was a series of skirmishes in a battle between two competing elite groups, with lower social groups appearing as allies rather than as independent agents.

Such an analysis provides an underpinning for *Power and Authority* as well as for *Urban Politics*. It is a view which commands respect, and which does act as an antidote to, say, Engels's analysis of urban society in the 1840s. It might be thought to have less applicability to the late nineteenth century, and some will remain sceptical even for the early and mid-nineteenth century. There is a danger of extrapolating from the nature of political conflict within a given institutional framework to the nature of conflict within the city. Dr Fraser shows how institutions were representative of property as much as population. This development could in itself bear a class analysis, and it also suggests that working-class aspirations would be turned into other outlets. And even if the middle class was divided into competing elites, they were aware of groups below, forming competing agencies to stabilize class relations. Conflict between elites and between classes could coexist.

But this is not to detract from the excellence of what Dr Fraser has written, which it is welcome to have more widely available. It is to ask him to write another book on urban society in Victorian England.

Martin Daunton

Martin Daunton lectures in economic history at University College London.

Textual history

Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne
by Pierre Riché
translated by Jo Ann McNamara
Liverpool University Press, £15.00 and £7.50
ISBN 0 85323 124 9 and 174 5

Pierre Riché is professor of history at the University of Paris X (Nanterre) and his *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne* was originally published in Hachette's *La Vie Quotidienne* series. Unlike Quenell's *History of Everyday Things in England* it is virtually no illustrations since it is not concerned with objects so much as texts. It is this fact that gives the book both its strength and its weakness.

Professor Riché has made a very thorough survey of the written sources—annals, letters, capitularies, diplomas, polyptychs, library catalogues and lives of rulers—perhaps and more—has used his material to make a survey whose comprehensiveness will surprise all but the most expert. For example, there is a chronological list of natural disasters between 780 and 800; they include droughts, hard winters, mild winters, plagues, animal epidemics, floods, earthquakes and famines.

It is, however, the 840s and 850s that the work records. There is a brief, but useful, account of the importance of agriculture in the Carolingian world, and an account of relations between Christians and Jews.

Not surprisingly, the most interesting passages concern the field of learning and literature. For it is here that Professor Riché has, on his home ground, his account of the intellectual revival is worth reading, even though one wonders why he does not in a chapter normally concerned with "Carolingian culture" as opposed to other chapters on "religious training of the clergy" and "liturgical civilization".

As the translator, Jo Ann McNamara remarks, Riché has not attempted a historical analysis of changing social relations; he has concentrated on producing a

broad picture of an age through the technique of piecing together solid components of fact drawn primarily from the texts. Unfortunately the result is superficial, because, although the texts may speak for themselves, it is often necessary to cross-question them.

An example of this is the important but difficult question of iron. The scarcity of references to iron tools and heavy mouldboard ploughs in agricultural inventories of the period, Riché gives us the information from the texts under two separate headings: "tillage, sowing, harvesting" and "blacksmithing". But he does not read the problem at all alone. He states that the King possessed iron and lead mines, that minerals were extracted from "established mines in the Vosges, Rhenania and the importance of iron with special reference to Wayland Smith, there called 'Wieland'". But there is a good deal of archaeological evidence which should have been included, and even the quotation from Ervold the Black could have been made to yield more information. How was it that the pagans were able to make their gods of iron? And why, if wheeled ploughs were rare, did Ervold tell the pagans that one such plough would benefit them more than any such god?

In its English form, the book has been produced by two university presses, Pennsylvania (where the sheets were printed), and Liverpool. Yet, like most of its material brought together by Winter, the essay is too valuable as a source for the study of the Carolingian world, and as a source for the study of the Carolingian world, and as a source for the study of the Carolingian world.

R. H. C. Davis

R. H. C. Davis is professor of medieval history at Birmingham University.

Tawney

The American Labour Movement and other Essays
by R. H. Tawney
edited by J. M. Winter
Harvester Press, £15.50
ISBN 0 85527 973 7

These essays revive the distinct buzz of one of our greatest social critics. In them, the distinct wit, penetration, and erudition of the late R. H. Tawney are again revealed, as well as some of the pitfalls that awaited his confident mind.

In his scholarly introduction to the collection, J. M. Winter concentrates on the provenance of the essays. Tawney wrote a discussion of the American labour movement, in 1942, after he had moved to Washington to advise the British Embassy on labour affairs. Tawney explained the labour movement with unusual lucidity and clarity. For example, he described the open, closed, and union shops in terms that have left our ambassador, Sir Halifax, under no illusions as to the distinctions between them, and their importance.

However, though employer opposition to unions may have been common in the 1930s, it was only in that decade, Tawney argued, that class war had come to the fore as an acute problem. Previously, the absence of feudal tradition in the new American against European hoary dimensions.

By now, generalizations such as these are not only stale but in quarters hotly disputed, as Tawney's assertion that the American labour movement is "a means, not an end", and his decision to omit mention of Negro labour. Similarly, while New Left historians may doubtless accept Tawney's scorn for the United States' record on foreign policy, it may be hard to see the omission reflected in the subsequence of labour to the State Department or of politics to the labour vote.

The second essay in the collection, "Poverty as an Industrial Problem", a pre-First World War lecture delivered at the London School of Economics in which Tawney argued eloquently in favour of the expanded concept of poverty, the poor, he argued, included not only those without means, but also those who were economically marginal, even if sufficiently provided for by the state. The essay is a valuable history, and some of its judgments, such as the depiction of "married women's labour" as "the evils of East London", are a good deal less radical today than they might have been in 1913.

Two further essays appeared originally in academic journals: "An Assessment of Wages in England" (1933), by Conrad Russell, and "The Gloucestershire study" (1934), by Stephen D. White. Both are studies whose purpose is ready well known.

Finally, Winter has included Tawney's essay "The Copeland China" (1933) a lecture delivered in Newcastle and a sequel to his book *Land and Labour in the Japanese Invasion of Manchuria*. It is therefore a tribute to the versatility of Tawney that he should have produced by two university presses, Pennsylvania (where the sheets were printed), and Liverpool. Yet, like most of its material brought together by Winter, the essay is too valuable as a source for the study of the Carolingian world, and as a source for the study of the Carolingian world.

Rhodi Jeffreys-Jones

Dr Jeffreys-Jones lectures in history at Edinburgh University.

BOOKS

Historian of his time

Robert Cotton 1586-1631: history and politics in early modern England
by Kevin Sharpe
Oxford University Press, £12.50
ISBN 0 19 821877 X

Robert Cotton's name is immortalized in the great Cottonian collection of manuscripts in the British Library. A pupil of Camden and a founder member of the Society of Antiquaries, Cotton assiduously collected the manuscript sources of English history from 1538 until his death in 1631, not always by entirely legitimate means. In 1622 he moved the collection into his new house at Old Palace Yard, convenient for the Houses of Parliament and for the advice the British Embassy on labour affairs. Tawney explained the labour movement with unusual lucidity and clarity. For example, he described the open, closed, and union shops in terms that have left our ambassador, Sir Halifax, under no illusions as to the distinctions between them, and their importance.

The library as such, however, is not Dr Sharpe's main concern. His aim is rather to examine Cotton's thought, in relation both to the political events of his day and to the broader stream of European historical thought. Cotton's political career is of considerable interest. An early advocate of the Stuart succession, he claimed kinship with the new dynasty through his descent from Robert Bruce, and supported James's scheme for closer union between England and Scotland. As a client of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Cotton placed his historical knowledge at the service of the Government's money-raising schemes, including the sale of hereditary offices, buying out himself, though equally falling to support his brethren in their claim to take precedence over the younger sons of barons. On Northampton's death, Cotton attached himself to a while to James's favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, even attempting to cover up Somerset's part in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

From 1618 his patron was Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Under Arundel's aegis Cotton found himself opposing the policies of the new regime eloquently in favour of the expanded concept of poverty, the poor, he argued, included not only those without means, but also those who were economically marginal, even if sufficiently provided for by the state. The essay is a valuable history, and some of its judgments, such as the depiction of "married women's labour" as "the evils of East London", are a good deal less radical today than they might have been in 1913.

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Rhodi Jeffreys-Jones

Dr Jeffreys-Jones lectures in history at Edinburgh University.

dition" is a striking testimony to the malign influence of Buckingham in politics.

Through Camden and King James, Cotton was in close touch with leading European scholars; notably de Thou, whom he advised about the politically sensitive affairs of Mary Stuart. Dr Sharpe argues forcefully for the practical significance of these contacts on Cotton's thought, and through Cotton, on the developing English parliamentary tradition: Machiavelli, Guicciardini, above all Bodin, helped form Cotton's view of the well-ordered monarchical state, and European standards of criticism

lay behind the idea of the library. Dr Sharpe's view is a challenging one, opposed to the usual tale of English intellectual and political isolationism. A difficulty lies in the paucity of actual historical writing from Cotton's part. Apart from using some early (and fascinating) papers for the Society of Antiquaries, Dr Sharpe relies heavily on a tract showing why English ambassadors should take precedence over those of Spain, and some maxims culled from Cotton's *History of Henry the Third* on the need for reform, and especially the necessity of replacing low-born favourites by noble councillors. The former could be seen as one of a drearily familiar genre, its arguments about English autocracy and antiquity commonplace in the court of Henry VIII. The latter is fundamentally anti-historical in character; since, as Dr Sharpe argues in his introductory chapter, there is an essential incompatibility between historical understanding, a realization of the differences between different societies, and the use of incidents drawn from the past for exemplary or polemical purposes.

While Cotton's library provided the potential for the development of historical scholarship, while Cotton himself made an important contribution to the recognition of a distinctive "feudal" system after the Norman Conquest, I am not convinced that he brought a specifically historical understanding to the political problems of his own day. The English tradition of Common Law, with its tendency to cite precedents with little regard for the circumstances which produced them, may even in Cotton's case, have been more significant than continental examples.

The intellectual background to seventeenth-century constitutional development is a familiar subject, one which lends itself to a good deal of vague wordiness, to talk of immemorial precedents and of the "spirit of the age". Dr Sharpe's achievement has been to anchor the study of scholarship to the real world of politics, with its complexities and cross-currents. He has opened up new perspectives; on, for instance, the nature of the Howard influence at the Jacobean court. And he has done so with a refreshing clarity and directness which enhances a stimulating and scholarly book.

C. S. L. Davies

C. S. L. Davies is fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

Parliamentary debates

Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629
by Conrad Russell
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £14.00
ISBN 0 19 822482 6

Sir Edward Coke and the Glorious Revolution of the Commonwealth by Stephen D. White
Manchester University Press, £14.50
ISBN 0 7190 0759 3

These two books represent opposing trends in the parliamentary history of the early Stuart period. Conrad Russell, pleading for the abandonment of what he calls "the traditional viewpoint of English history, the view that for the origins of the civil war" that argued that the Parliamentarians had little power, was "little more than a caricature of the public opinion of the time".

But if Mr White's book is rather short on the way rather than the how of men's actions during this period, the reader of Parliament and English Politics may occasionally feel overwhelmed by the variety and the subtlety of the explanations offered to him. Russell attributes only a relatively minor role to such a scrupulous reluctance to trespass on what he regards as the territory of other historians to some weakness. The traditional emphasis on conflict between Arminians and Puritans has not yet been conclusively rejected. However, Mr Russell's main contention,

that "the chief catalyst of change" in the Parliaments of the 1620s "was war" is clearly and convincingly demonstrated. He suggests that it was not only the financing of war that exacerbated tensions between crown and subjects but also the strain of military preparations placed on local administration.

Above all, he argues, the presence of armed forces under the king's command made men in Parliament regard what had earlier been no more than minor grievances as ominous threats to liberty; here, surely, is a forecast of 1641.

Mr Russell makes telling use of recent work on county communities to emphasize the parochialism of the men who sat in Parliament and his own book frequently illustrates the conflict of loyalties that arose from the desire of the men to measure favour both at home and in court. Although he himself warns his readers not to confess the desire of Members to stand well in the eyes of their "country" with the responsibilities that they later came to owe to their constituents there is a slight danger that Mr Russell's description of the way in which the Parliaments of the 1620s succeeded in getting themselves recognized as the representative of the people may be understood in too narrowly electoral a context.

There would be a great pity for the message of this excellent book to be more complex and more provocative.

Jennifer Louch

Jennifer Louch is fellow of Somerville College, Oxford.

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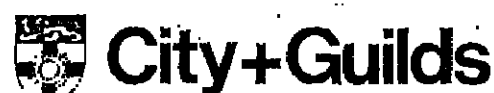
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Union View

Organization is the best protection

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In the past NATFHE's trade union role has always seemed to many people, both in higher education management and in NATFHE's own membership, as an encumbrance to its standing as a professional association. But times are changing and such attitudes to trade unionism will need to change. The positive role of trade unionism needs to be examined and accepted by all elements of higher education, management and staff, councillors and permanent officials. The most obvious fact of life in polytechnics and institutes of higher education at the moment is the current attempt to cut back public expenditure on higher education. A common assumption is that a curtailment of this pressure will be met by institutions between management and unions, and a lower level with local authorities. Such an outcome would not only weaken the ability of public sector higher education to protect itself, it would be in fact, quite unnecessary. It is beyond comprehension that management in institutions would actually wish to run down their college. The local authorities generally have regard to the well being of the service. There is therefore a certain identity of interest between management and unions in higher education. The major problem is to convince the Government and the public as a whole of the

need to preserve the higher education system. What, therefore, can the unions bring to bear on the situation, to the advantage of all in higher education?

The strength of unions such as NATFHE stems from their representation of a coordinated, non-institutional staff view point, combining membership at all academic levels in an institution. The views of such a diversity of membership across all public sector higher education affected by the threatened cuts in expenditure is ascertained through the internal machinery of the union concerned—in NATFHE's case the Polytechnics Advisory Panel and the Higher Education Standing Committee. A clear perspective can be worked out which represents the views of the public sector higher education service as a whole. This is particularly important because the foremost need at present is to protect and promote the role of higher education as a fundamental part of society, and to stress the particular and special contribution of the public sector.

natfhe

As any television viewer knows at the present time, the future of society will be moulded by the silicon chip and the robot car maker. Industry in the future will be more technological and less labour intensive; such is the message of the chairman of British Steel, and British Leyland. Higher education, as part of the general education service, has an important role in creating the new skills and ideas on this new technology. It has an equally valid role in providing for the increased leisure time that may well be thrust on the population in the near future. Education for its own sake and for the needs of society are the two sides of the same coin, and not matters to be prioritized.

There is an urgent need, therefore, to increase rather than reduce the proportion of those entering higher education. In certain parts of the country, particularly the five northern counties of England, there is an especial need to maintain and

expand provision, in view of the high and increasing levels of unemployment among all age groups and the pitifully low take-up rate for post-school education.

The protection of higher education demands the urgent creation of the National Body as recommended by the Oakes Committee. This was one of the fundamentally new ideas in public sector higher education agreed by all the interests involved—local authorities, institutional management and NATFHE. It is needed not only to protect higher education resources and to oversee their distribution but to protect the level and quality of the provision offered with which the Association is equally concerned.

Current attempts to reduce higher education provision through the "capping" of the advanced further education pool and the implementation of this cutback through short-term expedient means indicate more than ever the need for a strong and independent trade union voice.

A trade union, through the expertise of its permanent secretariat, with their contacts in the world of Government, both local and national, and bodies such as the TUC, has an obviously central function in protecting the idea of higher education, both from the depredations of politicians and the apathy of the public.

Through its links with other individual unions, such as AUT, the Association can ensure a strengthened voice on behalf of higher education and within the TUC can play its part in the protection of the public service as a whole.

In the current situation, institutions individually are more likely to survive if management and those whom they manage proceed in the same direction. Properly handled, relations between the unions and the management in a college can be a source of cohesion and strength.

Higher education has a fundamental need of trade unionism; let us hope that those who in the past have been sceptical of such a need will in future join us in the protection of the service.

Ray Grace

The author is chairman of the NATFHE polytechnic advisory panel.

Grants, course and elusive guidelines



Christopher Price

I find myself chairman of a new Committee of the House of Commons attempting to scrutinize policy, administration and expenditure of the Department of Education and Science, and the Office of Arts and Libraries. The width of the field before us is enormous, and the task is mammoth. We have now begun to look at the first chosen subject: the funding and organization of higher education courses. We chose it because Mark Carleton asked me to look at it. He was interested in the need for highly qualified manpower, and the sort of education for implementing the country's development strategy. So the dilemma is between a bureaucratic Department of Education and Science with the power and will to intervene, but without the trust of the academic world if it ever tried to do so directly, and a trusted, representative

body on either side of the binary line, which, just because it is so trusted and representative, is impossible to intervene with any effect. Finding a way of setting guidelines which will be adhered to, will be an elusive task.

Equally so will be the machinery for implementation. Hitherto, it seems to have been assumed that this will be through intervention from above, via the UGC in the university sector and the inspectorate and regional advisory councils in the public sector. I suspect, however, that any such intervention will be quite ineffective unless it is accompanied by a change in the pattern of mandatory grants. As long as first degree courses more or less follow a similar pattern, the pattern will continue broadly unchanged: if a complete change of emphasis took place, in which priority was given to funding part-time, post experience students in just those areas where there is a national need for better trained manpower, I believe that the flexibility of the system to adapt would astonish everyone.

Further education has always been based on this immediate flexibility to demand and both universities and polytechnics can learn a lot from it. If the carrot of a new pattern of grants were available, the students would come forward, just as trade used to follow the flag, and I suspect, would follow the students. Redeployment into less traditional forms of higher (and often further) education could be made to follow organically and naturally.

We can do little more than point the way. But for the Government to do so, it must be aware of the urgency. If the present squeeze on local government finance continues, discretionary grants could almost fade from the scene, with even greater concentration of resources into orthodox first degree courses. This, I suspect, is the last thing the Government wants or the country needs. If the pattern of grants does not change, the pattern of courses will not either, and the universities could, little by little, decline into that irrelevant artificial cantonment which made Gibbon's Oxford years so unprofitable at the hands of the monks of Magdalen 200 years ago.

Mid-November: six weeks after the onset of the year: new courses, new students, and, above all, new mounds of paper. Despite the wholehearted cooperation of colleagues, large chunks of administration can't be hived off, ex-officio, coordination, representation and recalcitrant problems require professional attention. And much is *ad personam*, too. Not being Head this year is a relief; being Dean was to be sanctioned to illiteracy and frustration. But ploughing through mounds of letters and committee reports, seminars, supervising PhD students, doing talks, writing things like this, do not make up the day. Books, articles, essays, theses, deadlines like hail and the piles of unopened offprints and unanswered letters inch heavenwards.

The really hectic periods are the beginning and end of the year. By the third term, things have become routine. Then comes the flurry of the year-end, for although teaching and exams are out of the way by late June, every committee in the university clears the decks thereafter. By mid-July the dust has settled. Then you may take three weeks' holiday, and thereafter there are five or six virginal weeks before the machine slips into gear once more. You'll probably take some of it to attend a professional conference (you should). So extensive writing means either taking time off teaching altogether or eating into "free" time, *sic* normal family life. One result of that is the doctor's surgery.

By now, colleagues in the polytechnics will be starting: "Try doing research in the handful of hours we're allotted. They're personal and interpersonal costs of the increasing volume of high-level scholarship coming out of the polytechnics and colleges. With more than 30,000 new titles a year in the United Kingdom alone, one often wishes less were produced, though the financial crisis in publishing will partly take care of that, as will the steady erosion of the staff-student ratio, the contribution of successive governments to the reduction of scholarly activity.

Only bureaucrats could dream up the notion of doing research in odd hours. The rhythms of academic life have other compulsions, whether the macro-rhythms of term and year or the micro-rhythms which refuse to be chopped up into hours. This week I'm lucky:

Don's diary

"On holiday again?" is the usual question from my barber when I roll in mid-morning. "What do you do in the holidays?" is the inexorable second question. The reply is attentively awaited not only by Sweeney, but by a quartet of bus-drivers. "Well", I flounder feebly, "the teaching term has finished, but there's an awful lot of reading to do, and administrative work, getting exams ready, preparing future lectures, doing your own research..." I don't need to look at faces which, by now, will be wearing expressions of profound disbelief.

Yet it's only a couple of months from the annual protest of my body against the inordinate pressures of mental work. How right Mao and the women's movement were to emphasize the psychic costs of our present division of labour not only for the underprivileged but also for the more powerful and prestigious. Whether it's due to increasing age, or increasing work or both, I don't know, but I do know that it began with a visit to my GP a few years back. "Doctor, doctor," I said, "it's my stomach and I'm not sleeping well." A few well-chosen questions, and an instant verdict: "Stress." "What, me?" I replied modestly. "I'm made of iron and I've always done well at writing, teaching and administration, that's the average bear." "Precisely," he said, and handed me a Valium prescription. A year later, I'd repressed the incident, but he hadn't: "You're late", late? "Yes, yes, you were here on November 8 last year."

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A Sunday which meant three uninterrupted hours to read half a book, and two hours to finish today (meanwhile another PhD thesis plopped onto the desk, and I dropped this Diary for 24 hours to attend a seminar). Since readings speed steps up as you go on, I read twice as much in the same period of clock-time as I can with ringing phones and knocks on doors. I don't know whether psychologists have done much work on the psychic consequences of all this switching on and off, and the deadlines—a committee for two hours, letters for an hour, a class, writing a report, and so on—but it can't be good. Little wonder that we're witnessing new "diseases of civilization" for which my doctor's pills are no solution. The Malaysian traditional doctor on television the other night had it better: "Most of my patients," he said, "are suffering from envy, anxiety and disappointment."

But there are great satisfactions, and privileges, too. It was rewarding to see that in Halsey's recent survey one's colleagues put our department in the top four. Maybe this will go some way to making the hee-haws of laughter that the mention of the word "sociology" still evokes from one's more Neanderthal colleagues. For myself, I've never believed that "sociology" was "better" than, say, chemistry, or intrinsically more or less "scientific". The Guardian had it right when it used to ask reviewers only to bother reviewing books "good or their kind". Some economists are loony of their kind, and there is fat and good physics. But a professor that is in the business of looking analytically at social arrangements from the family or the lab to the international community, worrier those who don't like the assumptions underlying their behaviour made explicit, let alone criticized. It's much easier for five out of six members of our Senate to say "We back the vice-chancellor" in objecting to Government cuts, and then to do nothing themselves, individually or collectively, to express or articulate opposition to xenophobic, divisive and regressive policies.

The even more incontinent student can only chastise this lethargy by resort to unorthodox methods—petitions, which are largely symbolic, but do interrupt established routines, and thereby provoke further care from those to whom order and hierarchy are sacred. The militants then get denounced as "individualists" and "hooligans", and I not infrequently find myself being told to show that overseas students feel personally threatened in a racist society and are also genuinely concerned with the universities' future. But to the conservative they are the barbarians at the gate.

Peter Worsley

The author is professor of sociology at the University of Manchester.

in or pass the buck swiftly upward, probably thereafter going home for the afternoon with a headache. Some, after a more or less ritual show of resistance, capitulate and go at least halfway to meet the complainer. Others look wryly knowing and ask why they should be more royalist than the king—more honest than member states—and also give in. Yet others look bitterly

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